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Nonformal education as an empowering process : with case studies from Indonesia and Thailand.

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NONFORMAL EDUCATION AS AN EMPOWERING PROCESS WITH CASE STUDIES FROM INDONESIA AND THAILAND

A Dissertation Presented

by

SUZANNE KINDERVATTER

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In a sense, this study is autobiographical: a consolidation of my experiences in nonformal education and Third World development over the past five years. I would like to thank those who made these experiences so meaningful and those who helped me carry out the study.

In 1974-5, I was part of a small group of graduate students at the Center for International Education who met to discuss concepts of development and related nonformal education strategies. I am indebted to members of this group for raising questions to which I am still seeking answers.

During my doctoral studies, I also had the opportunity to link theory to practice, as a consultant for activities sponsored by World Education, Inc. in Southeast Asia. I am grateful to World Education President Tom Keehn and former Asia representative Lou Setti for their support and encouragement, an important impetus to my professional development.

This thesis includes case studies from Indonesia and Thailand of two nonformal education programs with which I worked. The staff members of these programs enabled me to understand more clearly the potential of nonformal education as a development strategy and the problems which may constrain that potential. Through their efforts in Indonesia, Pepep Sudrajat, Maman Suherman, and Arif Zainuddin confirmed my faith in development by and for the people; I have also treasured their warmth and friendship. In Thailand, also, I would like

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ABSTRACT

Nonformal Education as an Empowering Process
With Case Studies from Indonesia and Thailand

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This study develops a role for nonformal education consonant with recent thinking on Third World development: nonformal education as an empowering process. A consideration of nonformal education's relationship to the new concepts of development is particularly important today. The effectiveness of traditional models of development has been seriously questioned and new approaches have been defined. As a development sector, nonformal education should adapt to these new definitions.

The first part of the study establishes a rationale for the role of empowering. The second part evolves both the concept and practice of nonformal education as an empowering process.

To build the rationale, the study begins by discussing new perspectives on the causes of underdevelopment and on the meaning of development, all of which is summarized by a concept called 'another development.' Next, the work of several institutions and individuals involved in conceptualizing nonformal education is examined in an attempt to discover a role for nonformal education which is consonant with 'another development.' The role which emerges is one that enables people to develop skills and capabilities which increase their control

over decisions, resources, and structures affecting their lives. For the purposes of this study, this role is termed "empowering" and the means by which the role is fulfilled is an "empowering process."

The concept and practice of nonformal education as an empowering process are developed through a number of stages. First, the general characteristics of an empowering process are deduced through a survey of four empowering processes: community organization; worker self-management/collaboration; participatory approaches; and education for justice. Second, the study presents case studies of two nonformal education programs, in Indonesia and Thailand, which are representative of empowering approaches. Third, the case studies are analyzed using the general characteristics of an empowering process defined earlier, as a means to identify factors and issues of particular importance to nonformal education.

In conclusion, the study defines the characteristics of nonformal education as an empowering process, discusses the potential and limitations of the approach, and suggests guidelines to program developers for creating nonformal education programs which promote empowering.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

"Cheshire Puss," she began rather timidly. . .

"Would you tell me please, which way I ought to go from here?"

"That depends a good deal on where you want to get to," said the cat.

"I don't care where--," said Alice.

"Then it doesn't matter which way you go," said the cat.

Alice's Adventures in Wonderland
by Lewis Carroll

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> Bu Harno is a villager who lives in the region of Sumedang, Central Java. She rises every morning at four o'clock and heads for the teak forest where she gathers leaves and fallen branches to sell in the market. When she has gathered enough to fill her gunny sack, she heaves the eighty pound load onto her back and trudges the nine kilometers of stony track to the market.
>
> After selling her wood for a few rupiah, she buys what she can of the daily essentials for her family. She gets home at midday and eats some cold rice which was cooked at dawn by her oldest daughter. The rest of the day is spent working, caring for a small garden, cooking, cleaning, and helping in the rice field. The baby is brought to her at regular intervals to be breast fed, but the rest of the children, cared for by the eight-year old daughter, are quite independent.
>
> Soon after nightfull, Bu Harno, exhausted, collapses onto her sleeping mat. Her husband sleeps outside because abstinence is the only family planning method they know. Five children are enough for now.
>
> From "Four Women--A Report from Indonesia" by Nancy Piet, World Education Reports, April 1976, p. 2.

The situation of Bu Harno and her family is far from unique. According to a comprehensive report on the state of Third World development, more than 800 million people are still living in absolute poverty (World Bank, 1978). "Absolute poverty" means that these people earn an annual income of $250 (U.S.) or less; have minimal employment and educational opportunities; and live each day without adequate food, shelter, rest, or health care. Recognition of this continuing

plight of the poor has lead many development theorists and practitioners to question existing development strategies.

The strategy which has dominated thinking through the United Nations (UN) first development decade (1960-70) and into the early part of the second is often referred to as the "GNP-trickle down" model. Proponents of this model have assumed that development is synonomous with Western, particularly North American, urban societies, and can be achieved through capital investment, industrialization, and GNP growth. Ponna Wignaraja, development economist with the UN Asian Development Institute, summarized the assumptions underlying this strategy:

> The framework that influenced the development process in the past assumed that development was a problem of 'developing' countries and placed great reliance on 'economic' factors. It assumed that rapid economic growth could take place 'from the top down,' if there was central planning and control of the economy with emphasis on industrialization, modernization, and urbanization. Internal capital accumulation would be assisted by inflows of foreign capital and technology. The cumulative benefits of this kind of growth in the modern sector were expected eventually either to 'trickle down' automatically or at best be handed down in an administrative fashion to large numbers who are in rural areas. Material well-being would ensure human happiness (Wignaraja, 1976, p. 3).

In the present decade, this "GNP-trickle down" approach has come under attack. The grounds for criticism are based on: 1) evidence of declining economic and social conditions in many Third World countries; 2) recognition that the world's resources are limited; and 3) growing awareness that Western societies, which have represented "development," in fact suffer from problems of overdevelopment. Each of these three perspectives will be explained in turn.

Despite the success of most countries in meeting the first

development decade goal of five percent growth per annum (and some having achieved even higher rates), the economic and social conditions of many people in Third World countries have actually declined.

This situation is typified by countries such as Mexico, the Philippines, Brazil, and India. In the sixties, Mexico's per capita income increased from $441 to $606, and GNP grew seven percent each year; however: 1) the ratio of income between the top twenty percent of income recipients and the bottom twenty percent widened from 10:1 in 1950 to 16:1 in 1969; 2) rural landless laborers increased in number by one million and their average number of work days dropped from 190 to 100 per annum; 3) the income of landless labor decreased by thirty percent, while that of factory workers increased by seventy-five to eighty percent between 1964-74; 4) eighty percent of the increase in agricultural production came from three percent of the farms employing only six percent of the workers; and 5) health and education programs continued to neglect rural people's needs (Grant, 1973; 1975).

Indicators for the Phillipines and Brazil (Grant, 1973, annex) show a similar pattern of traditional development benefitting those already well-off and largely missing, or even harming, those who are not. In India, also,

> Official statements confirm the fact that economic inequalities have increased, with the rich growing richer and the poor feeling more deprived in a relative sense--even though they may be slightly better off than before (Parmar, 1975, p. 8).

As recently as 1978, the existence of such trends was further corroborated by a World Bank report on another country, Thailand. The report found

the real income of over half the farmers in the north and northeast had stagnated or declined over the past fifteen years, and that "growth has been accompanied by a widening disparity of welfare among population groups and among the different geographical areas of the country" (Ping, 1978, p. 41).

Although exceptions exist, many countries have patterns similar to those discussed above. In response, development workers have concluded that GNP and per capita income growth are not sufficient strategies for, or indicators of, development:

> . . . country after country reveals the same pattern of relatively high growth rates, combined with a failure to meet other major needs and with dramatic inequities in the distribution of economic and social benefits (Grant, 1977, p. 4).

Among others, Dudley Seers, head of the Institute of Development Studies in Great Britain, has asked, "Why do we confuse development with economic growth?" (Seers, 1972, p. 22).

The "GNP-trickle down" model of development has also been criticized on ecological grounds. People have become aware of the ecological damage caused by unrestrained growth in the West and have recognized that resources are limited. Rene Dumont, a French agricultural economist and vocal spokesperson for re-examining development, discussed the relationship between a number of world problems and certain patterns of Western society (1973), many of which have been exported to the Third World. He linked pollution, malnutrition, the depletion of nonrenewable resources, and the rich-poor gap to rich countries' squander: their private cars; nonrecyclable packaging; advertising which encourages consumption; and large budgets spent on

arms. Dumont proposed a number of changes for "operation survival" in rich countries, while Ivan Illich (1970) warned Third World countries that they should not and can not follow western patterns of development.

Barbara Ward Jackson's concepts of "only one earth" (1972) and "spaceship earth" (1966) also emphasized the need for more ecological and less consumption-oriented approaches to development, as did the study Limits to Growth (Meadows et al., 1972).

Recently, Eric Eckholm of the Worldwatch Institute in Washington, D.C. pinpointed one particular consequence of non-ecologial development strategies, the loss or degradation of arable land and the deterioration of food production systems:

> A new broader approach to development planning is required of both international assistance agencies and national governments. Based on economic analyses that isolate a few threads from the whole cloth of natural environment and human activity, foreign aid projects and indigenous development programs alike too often fail to discern and eradicate the ecological roots of impoverishment (Eckholm, 1976, pp. 184-85).

Most of the concerns which relate development and ecology have been comprehensively reviewed by Lester Brown, founder of Worldwatch, in his new book, The Twenty-Ninth Day (1978). Brown examined the interrelationships of ecological stress, population growth, energy, food systems, and the distribution of resources and wealth, and concluded that we must make an "inevitable accomodation" to the world's capacities before nature does it for us.

The third major criticism of the GNP development approach concerns an issue more fundamental than ecology. Even if sufficient resources were available, some have questioned the desirability of marshalling

those resources to follow the path of so-called developed countries. While these countries have made certain positive advances, they also suffer from problems of "overdevelopment." Ironically, some of these problems are markedly similar to the problems of underdevelopment.

From a psychological perspective, Eric Fromm argued that "affluent alienation" is no better than "impoverished alienation" (1966, p. ix); and Marcuse depicted the fate of "one dimensional man" in advanced industrial society:

> The productive apparatus tends to become totalitarian to the extent to which it determines not only the socially needed occupations, skills, and attitudes, but also individual needs and aspirations. . . . Technology serves to institute new, more effective and more pleasant forms of social control and cohesion (Marcuse, 1964, p. xv).

On a more concrete level, recent reports have presented surprising findings. In 1977, the U.S. Senate Nutrition Committee released a report which documented malnutrition amongst middle-class Americans, not from underconsumption but from improper consumption, eating the wrong food. In addition, this headline appeared in the Washington Post: "EPA Cites U.S. Environment as a Leading Cause of Death" (August 1978). The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) study referred to linked the rapid increases in cancer, heart, and lung disease to pollution, chemical additives, and other environmental causes. Another report sponsored by the Ford Foundation, revealed a high level of adult illiteracy among poor whites and racial and ethnic minorities (Hunter, 1979).

The conditions of overdevelopment described here have caused some developers to look more critically at Western societies as a model for others to emulate.

The three-pronged criticism of the "GNP-trickle down" approach to development has raised serious doubts about the effectiveness and appropriateness of the model. Many who are involved in Third World development work now believe that growth alone can not help people like Bu Harno, and that modernization solves some problems but brings others which are just as grave. Therefore, in the mid and late seventies, the field of Third World development has been alive with dialogue aimed at reconceptualization. Some basic questions are being reexamined: what is development? what are its goals? what causes underdevelopment and what are the obstacles to development? how can development be promoted?

As yet, no consensus exists around any answers to these questions. Perhaps one never will, since the answers in part require personal value choices. However, a major emphasis has emerged and generally appears to characterize how development is perceived today. Compared to the "GNP-trickle down" model, recent perspectives on development stress people: concrete improvements in their lives, and changes in socio-economic relationships within and between countries which help to make such improvements possible. This new view is just now being translated from concept into action.

The Problem

Since the late sixties, nonformal education (NFE) has become a recognized Third World development sector, largely in response to the limitations of schooling. Quantitatively--in terms of desks and chairs available--and qualitatively--in terms of the appropriateness of those

desks and chairs, western-oriented curricula, and rote learning methods--formal education did not meet the needs of largely rural and poor populations. So, interest arose in nonformal education as means to confront this "unfinished business of the schools" (Coombs et al., 1973, p. 27), namely, bettering the lives of disadvantaged peoples.

For NFE or any other development sector to fulfill its promise, the role and strategies which it adopts must be based on an understanding of what development is and how it can be promoted. Nonformal educators should have a clear sense of the ultimate destination of their efforts in order to decide which roads to follow. The need to clarify the relationship between concepts of development and particular NFE strategies is particuarly important today, considering the movement to redefine development as described in the preceding section.

The recent "people-oriented" perspectives on Third World development necessarily involve social change, rather than mere economic growth. Changes are required in socio-economic structures and relationships to enable poor people to participate in and benefit from development efforts. Traditionally, education has been a shaky vehicle for such change, since its primary role has been to support the status quo. For the most part, formal education has served to transmit cultural values and perpetuate the existing socio-economic order. Many nonformal education efforts have also shared this orientation. Literacy classes, school equivalency programs, and vocational skills training attempt to affect individuals, but not the systems in which they live.

Because of the dominant traditional role of education, educators have little experience to draw upon for re-orienting nonformal education. To accomplish this reorientation then, NFE approaches which appear supportive of recent perspectives on Third World development need to be proposed and tested. Through such an effort, the specific limitations and potential of NFE as a development sector can be assessed.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to develop a role for nonformal education consonant with recent thinking on Third World development. In the study, this role is identified as "nonformal education as an empowering process."

The study has two sub-purposes: to establish a rationale for the proposed NFE approach and to define the approach in both conceptual and practical terms. "Empowering" is suggested as an NFE role adapted to "people-oriented" perspectives on development. In its final chapter, the study details how and to what extent nonformal education can fulfill this role. These concluding recommendations are presented for the consideration of program developers, with the intention that the approach will be applied and further tested in varied contexts.

Underlying the idea of "nonformal education as an empowering process" are two assumptions. First, the assumption is made that particular educational approaches can help to empower people. Second, the study assumes that empowering people will contribute to a certain kind of development, in which resources are distributed more equitably.

Since this study is basically definitional in nature, more extensive application and evaluation of the approach would be needed to validate either hypothesis. However, while no conclusions can be made about the existence of causal relationships, the positive evidence presented in the study warrants additional investigation of the proposed approach.

In the course of developing nonformal education as an empowering process, a number of questions are answered:

1) What are contemporary perspectives on the causes of underdevelopment and the meaning of development?

2) How do some existing approaches to nonformal education fit with these perspectives, and what approach(es) can be proposed as particularly consonant with certain of these views?

3) Considering the proposed role of nonformal education as an "empowering process," what does empowering mean?

4) What general characteristics of an empowering process can be deduced through examining a variety of empowering processes?

5) What kinds of nonformal education programs are examples of empowering processes?

6) From these programs, what more can be learned about the characteristics of an empowering process, related specifically to nonformal education?

7) What dimensions and guidelines can be suggested for creating other NFE programs with empowering as their goal? What are the potential and limitations of such programs?

Methodology

The procedures for developing NFE as an empowering process included the examination of both written materials and actual education programs in Third World contexts.

Review of Literature

The literature surveyed for this study encompasses three areas: recent perspectives on Third World development; the role of nonformal education in development; and empowering processes.

An extensive library search was conducted to compile new views on the causes of underdevelopment and the meaning of development. Then, selected nonformal education literature was examined to discover NFE strategies consonant with these views. Out of this inquiry, the role of nonformal education as an empowering process was identified.

To determine the general characteristics of an empowering process, four representative fields were explored: community organization; worker self-management and collaboration; participatory approaches in adult education, research, and rural development; and education for justice. Pertinent literature could not always be found in libraries. Therefore, a number of organizations active in the four fields were contacted for materials (see Appendix A). From all the data compiled, theories as well as reports of real activities, eight characteristics of an empowering process were deduced.

Case Studies

Two Third World nonformal education programs which represent attempts at empowering were selected as case studies: learning groups

in Indonesia and youth and village development workshops in Thailand. While the general characteristics of an empowering process were deduced to provide rough guidelines for NFE, examining two field programs offered a means to discover programmatic and cultural considerations unique to Third World nonformal education.

Data for the studies was drawn from primary sources and from the author's direct experience with both programs. The two studies were written with intentional detail, to paint a full picture of the actual design and implementation of a nonformal education program in a particular context. In order to draw inferences from the case studies, they were analyzed with the eight characteristics of an empowering process serving as a framework. This analysis led to the identification of dimensions and guidelines for designing nonformal education programs to promote empowering in Third World contexts.

Definitions

Nonformal Education

This study proposes a new orientation for nonformal education. It may be helpful to clarify the relationships between this orientation and more standard definitions of NFE. Nonformal education is often thought of in terms of divisions, such as 'adult education,' 'continuing education,' 'on-the-job training,' 'accelerated training,' 'farmer or worker training,' or 'extension services' (Coombs, 1968, p. 138).

The approach developed in this study, nonformal education as an empowering process, could include such divisions but with a new focus. Rather than promoting only the acquisition of information and skills,

NFE as an empowering process emphasizes the utilization of these capabilities for collaborative problem-solving. In other words, non-formal education as an empowering process is oriented toward influencing socio-economic structures and relationships through group action-taking.

Whether related to health, literacy, or vocational skills acquisition, NFE for empowering places importance on how educational processes and relationships affect learners. Programs are designed to enable people to critically analyze their own life situations and to develop the skills required for acting to improve their situations.

Empowering

For the purposes of this study, empowering is:

> People gaining an understanding of and control over social, economic, and/or political forces in order to improve their standing in society.

This definition is discussed and elaborated in the body of the study.

"Developed" and "Developing"

The words people use are a major influence on structuring their view of reality.

Today, countries such as the United States are usually termed "developed" or "rich," and countries such as Indonesia are called "developing," "poor," or "less-developed." These terms create false images in people's minds.

"Developed" implies that Western countries have reached an ultimate state of being, and ignores rampant problems within these countries; "rich" overlooks the pockets of poverty that exist. For the other general grouping, "developing" inaccurately implies that these countries

are in fact progressing, and "poor" overlooks the wealth of resources and wealthy families that can be found. In addition, "less-developed" assumes that these countries are generally behind, whereas in a humanistic sense they may in fact be ahead of the West. Other terms which are sometimes used--"North-South"--are also inappropriate because of exceptions which exist in both categories.

Not wanting to promote inaccurate perceptions, this study has selected two other classifiers: "technologically-advanced" and "Third World." Though these are also not perfect, they are felt to communicate more accurately than the others which are available.

Organization

Following this introductory chapter, the study is organized into six sections.

Chapter II reviews recent perspectives on Third World development, in order to clarify the end to which nonformal education should be oriented. In Chapter III, these perspectives serve as the touchstone for examining some major "schools" of nonformal education. Based on this examination, NFE as an empowering process is proposed and the meaning of empowering is defined.

Chapter IV surveys four empowering processes: community organization; worker self-management and collaboration; participatory approaches in adult education, research, and rural development; and education for justice. Each process is reviewed individually, including a theoretical introduction and an overview of representative activities. The chapter ends with a table compiling all the characteristics of the

processes reviewed and a list of eight general characteristics of an empowering process.

Chapter V presents two case studies: "learning groups" in Indonesia and "youth and village development workshops" in Thailand. The cases are mainly descriptive and are both organized according to the same categories of programmatic components. A table at the end of the chapter summarizes the dimensions of both programs.

Chapter VI utilizes the eight characteristics of an empowering process (deduced in Chapter IV) as a framework to analyze the case studies. For each of the eight areas, critical issues for nonformal education are identified and discussed. The chapter ends with recommendations related to each area.

Chapter VII concludes the study with a focus on the future. The characteristics of NFE as an empowering process are defined and the potential effectiveness and limitations of the approach are considered. Finally, guidelines for program development and implementation are suggested.

C H A P T E R I I

VOICES FOR 'ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT'

Sitting at an office desk or on the floor of a village home, those involved in Third World development efforts confront similar facts. Both statistics and observable human conditions indicate that the promise of the "GNP-trickle down" model of development has not been fulfilled. In addition, as discussed in the Introduction, many have criticized traditional approaches to development because of their negative impact on the world eco-system and their implicit support of "overdeveloped" societies as models to emulate.

In light of these realities, many development theorists and practitioners are engaged in an international dialogue to redefine the concept of development. Though this is not an organized movement, its voices discuss common themes. This chapter will review two of the major themes under consideration: the causes of underdevelopment and the meaning of development. Then, in conclusion the redefined causes and meaning will be summarized by introducing a concept called 'another development.' In this study, 'another development' will serve as the definition of Third World development toward which nonformal education is oriented.

The Causes of Underdevelopment

How a person defines a problem significantly determines the approaches he/she chooses to solve that problem. This axiom is especially applicable to Third World development.

Strategists of the UN first development decade (1960-70) generally assumed that the problem of underdevelopment was a matter of inherent deficiencies--economic, social, and cultural--within Third World countries. To confront this problem, therefore, the Third World needed to "catch up" to technologically-advanced countries, through inputs of capital and technology and through adopting "modern" values.

In the present decade, the deficiency view of the causes of underdevelopment has been challenged, if not discredited, by new analyses. The analyses link the conditions of underdevelopment to a history of unequal power relationships between the Third World and technologically advanced countries, from the era of colonialism to the present. This new view does not suppose that the Third World can "develop" merely by changing certain external relationships. As did the former deficiency perspective, the historical analysis recognizes that concrete economic and social problems do exist in the Third World.

But, in contrast to the deficiency perspective, the historical analysis does not see the causes of these problems as inherent. While certain climatic or religious factors in the Third World may have contributed to present social and economic problems, the problems were largely aggravated by colonialism. Today, the problems have a momentum of their own and must be confronted directly.

Thus, the historical analysis points to the need for a two-pronged approach to the problem of underdevelopment: confronting internal economic and social difficulties (e.g., inadequate rural health care) and changing external relationships with technologically advanced countries (e.g., establishing higher commodity prices).

This redefined view of the causes of underdevelopment should not be considered a total explanation of the problem. However, the view does provide a fuller and more accurate picture than did the deficiency perspective. The following discussion will explore the new view in greater depth.

Traditional Views: A Lack and a Lag

Traditional views of underdevelopment generally attributed the situation of Third World countries to either a "lack or a lag" (Goulet and Hudson, 1971, p. 20). These views all supposed that the absence of certain conditions, present in technologically advanced societies, caused underdevelopment. Szentes (1976, Chapter 1) broke the "lack and lag" theories into five types, respectively based on: 1) quantitative statistical indices; 2) the aggregate of certain criteria and limiting factors, such as unfavorable natural endowments, cultural factors, high population growth rates, etc.; 3) "specific forms of motion," i.e., a cycle limiting factors; 4) the sociological view of a stagnant, traditional society; and 5) Rostow's five stages of economic growth (traditional-transitional-take off-drive to maturity-high mass consumption).

However, the five "lack and lag" theories confused the symptoms of underdevelopment with their causes. Depending on one's definition

of the goals of development (discussed in the next section), some of the indicators and conditions listed above may or may not be representative of underdevelopment. But, they can not be identified as the causes of underdevelopment. The five definitions all stood on two faulty assumptions: 1) that the underdeveloped situation of Third World countries was the same as that of the technologically advanced countries before their own development "revolutions" and 2) that deficiencies within Third World countries were the major force preventing their own development.

New analyses which consider underdevelopment in an historical perspective challenge these deficiency assumptions and the definitions they support. The two views have been contrasted:

> The first view postulates that while some nations are unfortunately 'backward,' they can evolve in the direction of 'developed' nations, if they adopt acceptable behavior and 'modern' goals.
>
> The second view rejects this language as historically unreal. Underdevelopment is not rooted in providence, inferior personality traits, or traditional values. Rather, it exists because the Third World has been the object of systematic subjugation action by the dominant nations. Following centuries of colonialism and neo-colonialism, a world-wide system has been 'aided,' 'technologized,' and 'mutual securitied' into place (Goulet and Hudson, 1971, p 9).

Barbara Ward Jackson also distinguished between the different perspectives (1965). She explained that the traditional analyses of underdevelopment were dominated by theories evolved during the period of the Marshall Plan. When applied to Third World countries, however, these theories proved ineffective because they ignored history. The colonial and post-colonial periods have created a new and unique world-wide division of labor, in which Third World countries basically produce primary goods for technologically advanced countries' manu-

factures, in turn, the Third World purchases the products for their own consumption.

Thus, the historical perspective sheds new light on the causes of underdevelopment. It suggests a causal relationship between the development of some countries and the parallel underdevelopment of others. In contrast, the traditional view represents an example of what has been called "blaming the victim."[1] The Third World has been held responsible for conditions actually caused by systemic forces. The causes of underdevelopment inherent in the international economic system will be examined next.

An Historical Analysis of Underdevelopment

Historically, underdevelopment began with colonialism. The so-called developed countries of the world today were un-developed in their pasts, but never under-developed (Wilber and Weaver, 1975). In other words, prior to their industrial revolutions, the resources of technologically advanced countries were largely untapped; however, these countries never experienced the large-scale exploitation of their resources by another country. The underdeveloped condition occurred as a "by-product of development" of the West (Goulet, 1975, p. 38), which depended heavily on the low prices of commodities from and markets to the Third World. In simple economic terms:

---

[1] This phrase was used by William Ryan (1971) to characterize approaches applied to "help" the US poor. Ryan viewed these efforts as oriented to changing individuals, rather than the real causes of their problems: economic and social structures and unequal power relationships.

> The raw materials were sent out to pay for the original investment. Profits, capital gains, and sometimes tenfold amortization returned to the metropolitan investors. What local purchasing power was generated was mopped up by the sale of western manufactures imported through large trading companies (Jackson, 1965, p. 8).

Essentially this pattern resulted in a lack of credit and funds for local investment in agriculture, industry, and support for social services.

The writings of other economists elaborate on this explanation. Baran (1957) maintained that underdevelopment has been the natural outcome of a world capitalist system, based on profit maximization for technologically advanced countries. He labelled the colonial period as the advent of the "political economy of backwardness." Capitalism entered Third World countries in a "Prussian way," not through the growth of small competitive enterprise, but rather through the transfer from abroad of advanced monopolistic business (Baran, 1973). Thus, no entrepreneureal competition arose and no economic surplus was available to reinvest in the expansion of business.

From the colonial period to the present post-colonial era, the patterns cited by Baran have continued to prevail:

> Formal independence has changed the essential economic relationships very little (Hunt and Sherman, 1972, p. 558).

Johan Galtung (1971) presented a "theory of structural imperialism" to explain the parallel development of technologically advanced countries and the underdevelopment of the Third World. In the colonial and neo-colonial period, he sees a "relationship between a Center and Periphery nation so that there is a harmony of interest between the center in the Center nation and the center in the Periphery

nation. . . ." (p. 83). This comonality of interest has been characterized by exploitation of the periphery in both the Center and Periphery nations. Thus, the difference between so-called developed and developing countries is not one of internal deficiencies, but of their respective position in the international economic structure of production and distribution.

The historical analysis of underdevelopment indicates that the fundamental cause of the problem can be attributed to the unequal power relationship between technologically advanced and Third World countries, rather than attributed to Third World countries themselves. While the history of the Third World's unequal relationships to the technologically advanced world may not account for all the conditions which characterize underdevelopment, the imbalance has undoubtedly had a strong impact on Third World economies, social systems, and cultures.

The Dependency Theorists

The distinguishing feature in the unequal relationship between Third World and technologically advanced countries is dependency, in which the economies of certain countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of other economies to which the former are subjugated (Dos Santos, 1973). The growing awareness that dominant-dependent world relationships lie at the root of underdevelopment has resulted in the emergence of a new economic school of "dependency theorists." The dependency theorists essentially believe that the unequal relationships of international trade and investment are

beneficial to the technologically advanced countries and detrimental to the Third World. In their writings, they have probed extensively to clarify the nature of dependency relationships and the role of these relationships in underdevelopment. Dependency theorists are represented in this study by: Frank Furtado, Wilber and Weaver, and Szentes.[2]

Frank (1973) characterized underdevelopment as an on-going process, "the development of underdevelopment," caused by the unequal economic relationships between Third World and technologically advanced countries. His historical research, focused mainly on Latin America, showed that countries or regions of countries most closely tied to the technologically advanced countries, "metropoles," tended to be least developed.

Furtado (1973; and as reviewed in Wilber and Weaver, 1975) identified three stages in the dependency syndrome. In the first stage of "static comparative advantage," Western colonialists invested in the expansion of primary commodities, agriculture and raw materials, to serve their own consumption and manufacturing needs. In this way, Third World economies initially became linked to the needs and demands of the technologically advanced economies and to the vicissitudes of the world market. No transformation of the production system geared to local consumption occurred and infrastructure, such as transportation networks, was designed to serve the export market.

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[2]Of this group, Tamas Szentes' book, the Political Economy of Underdevelopment (1976), provides the most comprehensive analysis.

The second stage of "import substitution" was marked by the local manufacture of products previously imported for the consumption of local elites. This process placed a heavy drain on foreign exchange earnings because many items had to be imported for the production processes. Also, capital requirements for these usually capital-intensive industries were especially high.

The involvement of "multinational corporations" in the manufacturing sector of Third World countries typifies the third stage. Through the benefits they offer Third World elites and through their powerful international monopolies, the multinationals are able to determine what is produced, how it is produced and who benefits. Generally, profits and indirect gains (e.g., employment and training) accrue to corporation shareholders in the technologically advanced countries and to local elites. These profits are often exorbitant. For example, in Africa and Asia, from 1950-1965, US corporations invested $5.2 billion but transferred to the United States $14.3 billion in profits, a gain of $9.1 billion or almost two hundred percent (Hunt and Sherman, 1972, p. 566).

According to Wilber and Weaver (1975), unequal income distribution has combined with "transplanted consumption patterns" (a term used by Furtado) to form the mechanism which has maintained dependency and underdevelopment through the three stages just described:

> Each of these stages has been characterized by the creation or aggravation of income inequalities that produced a structure of consumption and investment strikingly unfavorable to economy-wide economic growth.
>
> As a result of the highly unequal income distribution created by narrowly based growth, stimulated by foreign

> business, the upper income groups adopted consumption patterns of their counterparts in the developed countries. This shaped both the import and domestic manufacturing sectors of the underdeveloped countries. The luxury consumption demands of this group were catered to instead of the subsistence needs of the vast majority (Wilber and Weaver, 1975, p. 208; p. 207).

Colonialism created a local elite in Third World countries, who gradually adopted the consumer preferences of their Western counterparts. As their incomes grew, through involvement in the export sector, the elites imported Western goods. Then, several forces--balance of payments crises, restrictive trade policies in the West--created a demand for the local production of these goods. Generally, these "import substitution" industries employed capital-intensive technology, rather than a labor-intensive approach more appropriate to their surplus of labor and deficit of capital. Elite demands also opened the door for multinational corporations, which in turn have created new demands through their advertising campaigns. The advertising, and the demonstration effects of the elites, have also manipulated the poor majority's perceptions of its needs.

Across the three dependency stages, the gap in elite-majority incomes has increased and the poor members of society have gained only minimally from development efforts. The structures and processes of production have neither provided them with basic necessities nor with needed jobs and income.

The pattern of "individual-consumption-oriented development" (Wilber and Weaver, 1975, p. 216) has created a situation in which the wants of some are met before the needs of all. Private cars are produced before adequate public transportation networks; modern urban

hospitals are established before rural clinics. Wilber and Weaver concluded that:

> An individual-consumption-oriented development program, combined with capital-intensive technologies, will tend to worsen an already highly unequal income distribution; and frequently, lead to an increase in mass poverty (Wilber and Weaver, 1975, p. 216).

Forms of Third World Dependency

For the past few pages, examination of the dependency theorists has focused on the evolution of dependency relationships and the mechanisms by which dependency contributes to underdevelopment. Now, the specific forms of dependency experienced by Third World countries today will be addressed.

Szentes presented two forms of dependency: external and internal. Originally, the external forms (those concerning relations with the technologically advanced countries) caused the internal forms. At present, however, the internal forms exercise an independent effect on maintaining underdevelopment.

External forms of dependency fall into five groups: 1) direct control by foreign monopoly capital; 2) trade dependent on a few countries and subject to fluctuations in the world market; 3) poor terms for banking and credit, including increasing indebtedness which further exacerbates dependency; 4) technical dependence; and 5) income drain and losses of numerous kinds: profit and interest repatriation, foreign exchange transaction, monopoly pricing of primary products, and costs of shipping, insurance, and other related services. These five forces result in the Third World as a whole spending more than it gains. As Szentes explained:

> As long as the influx of material and intellectual resources into the underdeveloped countries is connected with an increasing outflow of resources, which follows from the spontaneous mechanism of the capitalist world economy and the structural characteristics of the underdeveloped countries, and as long as in consequence of all this the unequal distribution of the dynamic factors of growth (science, technology, and the industries closely related to them) is maintained (and even increased), there is no hope of narrowing the gap, nor even preventing its further widening (Szentes, 1976, p. 228).

Internal forms of dependency are really indirect spin-offs of external dependencies and now have their own momentum. Internal forms include the disintegration of the mode of production of goods and distortions of the domestic economic structure.

Since Third World countries did not experience a revolution in their own economies, a dual sector system arose: modern and subsistence. The modern sector has consisted of mainly the import substitution and multinational enterprises discussed previously; in the subsistence or traditional sector have been the production of most food and some of the consumer goods used by the rural poor. The separateness of these two sectors provides little opportunity for people to move from the latter to the former. Szentes listed a number of specific factors of internal dependence: a narrowness of the home market, a lack of capital accumulation, outward-directed transportation links, and the grossly unequal distribution of income.

Denis Goulet (1975) has also discussed external and internal dependency. Though inequalities have always existed, he maintained that they are much greater today because of the structural paternalism dominating the relationships between technologically advanced and Third World countries: politically, economically, and culturally.

Politically, the influence of Third World countries on international issues and sometimes even their own domestic issues, has been limited by the power and interests of the technologically advanced countries. Economically, as Szentes pointed out, Third World economies have been beholden to the technologically advanced economies; and culturally, attempts have been made to change Third World values and social patterns judged incompatible with modernity, while Western values have been exported through the media and advertising. An example of cultural dominance is Inkeles' "themes" of "modern behavior" (1974).

For Goulet, the key to understanding dependency is vulnerability:

> The technologically advanced nations enjoy disproportionate bargaining strength and will not permit underdeveloped nations to develop in a manner which challenges their dominant position (Goulet, 1975, p. 47).

The weak bargaining position of underdeveloped countries provides little defense against external forces which shape the direction of their change. In some cases, countries have not been able to chart futures based on goals and strategies most supportive of their own developmental needs. Instead, they have made choices which, at best, attempted to minimize their vulnerability. Goulet maintained that a "total trauma" results from dependency:

> The trauma is total because the desire mechanisms of an entire population are altered before it possesses control over the social institutions which would enable it to gain effective use of resources needed to meet these new desires. Those who do not possess the resources or enjoy access to them understandably 'assist' the development efforts of others only to the degree that such an activity enhances their own objectives. Since they are technologically and economically more powerful, transfers of resources, information, and personnel consolidate the dominant position of the strong and futher accentuate the dependence of the weak (Goulet and Hudson, 1971, p. 21).

While attempts to overcome dependency and vulnerability can not by themselves alleviate the conditions of underdevelopment, such efforts are necessary and important. They enable peoples and countries to develop confidence and exercise greater control over decisions which shape their futures.

Strategies to Overcome Dependency

In this chapter, consideration of the causes of underdevelopment began with the statement that: "how a person defines a problem significantly determines the approach one chooses to solve that problem." Based on historical analysis and the writings of dependency theorists, the fundamental cause of underdevelopment has been attributed to the unequal and dominant-dependent relationships existing between technologically advanced and Third World countries.

Responding to this definition of the problem, development theorists, as well as planners, have proposed new approaches to confront underdevelopment. Generally, the proposals emphasize the need for structural changes: between Third World and technologically advanced countries and within Third World countries.

Concerning the kinds of changes needed in relationships between countries, Baran and Szentes suggest the following:

> For backward [sic] countries to enter the road of economic growth and social progress, the political framework of their existence has to be drastically revamped. The alliance between feudal landlords, industrial royalists, and capitalist middle classes has to be broken (Baron, 1973, p. 93).

> Where the mechanism of exploitation is a spontaneous mechanism built on the internal structure of the exploited countries on the one hand, and is part and consequence of the whole

> mechanism of the world economy itself on the other, the internal solution can only be structural, consequently also a political one, and the international solution, only a political, consequently a structural one (Szentes, 1976, p. 228).

Also writing on this theme, Goulet (1975, Chapter 1) called for a new "reciprocity" in the relationships between Third World and technologically advanced countries. This can occur only if people involved in development assistance and the peoples of Third World countries both experience the "shock of underdevelopment," i.e., the realization "that what appears normal is abnormal and that what appears aberrant [underdevelopment] is the lot of common man (p. 24)." Also, developers must understand their own vulnerability, their inadequacies for dealing with questions and decisions related to universal human values and for creating a peaceful, and thus just, world order.

Examples of needed internal structural changes also have been suggested by several development theorists. Wilber and Weaver focus on the importance of the redistribution of income, maintaining that:

> If income is distributed more equally, the problem will more or less take care of itself. The new pattern of consumption demand would lead to a new outbasket embodying less capital and foreign exchange inputs and more labor inputs. This would make more effective use of limited capital and foreign exchange resources. New patterns of consumption demands would, therefore, maximize the employment of labor and reinforce equality in income distribution (Wilber and Weaver, 1975, pp. 218-19).

The two economists view redistributing income as a catalyst in a chain reaction. Basically, they contend that the additional income for the poor would create demands for new consumer goods, many of which could be produced by labor intensive rather than capital intensive technologies. The new production activity would create more

jobs and thus enable the poor to enter the modern sector and further increase their incomes. While the redistribution of income alone can not alleviate all the forms of dependency discussed in the previous section, it would contribute to solving some of these problems. However, the feasibility of redistributing income is questionable for many national contexts, and Wilber and Weaver did not discuss how a redistribution might occur.

Grant (1972) supported other kinds of changes within Third World countries, including: adoption of labor-intensive production techniques; revised tax laws; production of basic consumer goods, rather than luxury items; land reform; tailoring social services to meet the needs of the poor; encouraging the poor to save and invest (this often occurs when the poor own or rent their own economic facilities); and establishment of credit services. Parmar (1975) advocated "self-reliance" in terms of rejecting imitative development approaches; ensuring that social justice accompanies growth; and giving priority to social and institutional change. And changes within the technologically advanced countries were proposed by Goulet, particularly "voluntary austerity" to provide the resources to meet all people's needs (Goulet, 1975, p. 11).

Some Third World countries, individually and collectively, have adopted strategies representative of those proposed above. Countries such as Tanzania, Cuba, China, and Guinea-Bissau (since 1974) have espoused policies emphasizing self-reliance, which attempt to structure economies appropriate to their own resources and needs and to build cultural esteem. Also, in recent years, Third World countries have

taken joint action to challenge the dominance of technologically advanced countries.

The movement for a "new international order", begun with the UN Sixth (1974) and Seventh (1975) Special Sessions,[3] is pressing for changes in: terms of trade; transfer of resources; the international monetary system; cooperation in science and technology; production patterns for industry, food, and agriculture; greater cooperation amongst Third World countries; and the structure of the UN system (Society for International Development, 1975). On another front, Third World leaders have convened a series of meetings dealing with international communications and greater Third World participation and influence (Centre for Economic and Social Information, 1978).

Haq (1976, pp. 13-16) has also predicted a greater solidarity and thus strengthened bargaining power of the Third World in the future, based on: a reverse dependency where the lifestyles of the rich would depend on the good will of the poor; the spread of nuclear weapons; control over natural resources; the need of technologically advanced countries for Third World markets; and greater collaboration between OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) and other Third World countries. Though the spread of nuclear weapons would be most unfortunate, this and Haq's other predictions demonstrate that the Third World is now ready to confront power with power.

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[3]The text of the "Action Programme" of the UN Seventh Special Session can be found in the annexes of Beyond Dependency, edited by Erb and Kallab (1975).

Trends both within and amongst Third World countries indicate that overcoming dependency has become a critical ingredient in present efforts to overcome underdevelopment.

A Final Note

This section has examined: the causes of underdevelopment from an historical, rather than deficiency, perspective; dependency relationships and inequality; and the growth of a movement to adopt new approaches to confront underdevelopment. During a development communications seminar in Sweden in 1973, Andreas Fuglesang talked about the "big man" and "little man" in our world today. Fuglesang's words aptly sum up the preceding examination of the causes of underdevelopment:

> First and foremost, we must realise: the little man [or woman] is small only because his back is bent (Fuglesang, 1973, p. 26).

The Meaning of Development

Development will not necessarily occur when the causes of underdevelopment have been confronted. Confrontation of the causes of underdevelopment can be considered essentially curative and necessary if development is to occur. However, "development" represents more: the actualization of certain desired goals or conditions.

What is "development?" What labels one country as "developed" and another as not? As discussed in Chapter I, the dominant view of the UN first development decade defined development according to characteristics existing in technologically advanced--mainly U.S. and

European--countries and utilized "macro" social and economic indicators, such as GNP growth, to measure "success." In the seventies, however, a dramatic shift in perspective has occurred. The traditional view has not been rejected entirely; certain conditions found in technologically advanced countries and "macro" changes are still considered part of development.

But, development now has two new emphases: an open-endedness and a focus on "micro" changes. Present views on development no longer completely prescribe a "packaged" end-state which all countries should seek. Instead, many development theorists accept that different countries will pursue different goals, depending on their own individual values. The new view also emphasizes "micro" changes, namely concrete improvements in the lives of the majority of a population. Such "micro" changes are generally referred to as "meeting human needs;" this human needs perspective has gained prominence amongst developers and encompasses a range of different meanings.

The recent trends described above will be expanded upon in the following pages.

Ethics and Development

In the sixties, when development was synonomous with economic growth, the goals of increases in GNP and per capita income became ends in themselves. Economic growth was an unquestioned "good" and human values were seen by developers as either aids or obstacles to achieving this growth (Goulet and Hudson, 1971). More recently, this equation has been challenged, and to some extent reversed. An increasing number

of those involved in international development have argued that economic and even social development are only the means to a greater end, an end relating people's values to "the requirements of the good life and the good society in the modern world" (Goulet, 1975, p. viii).

On the philosophical level, this normative view has been most thoroughly articulated and explored in the writings of Denis Goulet. In the preface to The Cruel Choice: A New Concept in the Theory of Development, Goulet's comprehensive work on ethics and development, he stated:

> The premise underlying this work is that, for developed and underdeveloped societies alike, basic questions are neither economic, political, nor technical, but moral (Goulet, 1975, p. vii).

And further on that:

> Development ethics must contest the established order, which is the order of underdevelopment for the majority of men and women in the world (Goulet, 1975, p. 119).

Goulet criticized economic and social development theories as "anti-developmental" because of their: absolutization of the means, emphasis on materialism, and ignoring of the qualitative aspects of life (1975, Chapter 11). Most basically, the theories excluded the real issue of development: human values choices, how those choices are made, and by whom. As a means to bring the issue of values to the forefront in development theory, Goulet proposed a new definition for "authentic" development:

> . . .a complex series of inter-related change processes, abrupt and gradual, by which a population and all its components move away from patterns perceived in some significant way as 'less human' toward alternative patterns perceived as 'more human' (Goulet, 1975, p. x).

Goulet's concept of development has a number of striking characteristics: 1) it supports a normative view for both development goals and development strategies; 2) it implies that different societies may "perceive" development differently and have a right to their own definitions; and 3) it suggests that all societies can be considered "underdeveloped" or "developing" since technologically advanced countries also have "less human" patterns to overcome. Goulet's book further elaborated his theory.

He proposed three common values for development in all societies--life sustenance, esteem, and freedom (1975, Chapter 3) and three principles for "ethical strategies" of development: that all people must have enough to be human; that universal solidarity must be created; and that a populace must have the greatest possible voice in decisions affecting its destiny (Goulet, 1975, Chapter 6). These normative judgments for how goals ought to be pursued represent criteria to guide decision-makers and development planners. Goulet placed particular importance on how this pursuit occurs:

> Development is not a cluster of benefits 'given' to people in need, but rather a process by which a populace acquires a greater mastery over its own destiny (Goulet, 1975, p. 155).

Goulet maintained that development most fundamentally concerns power relationships, since development occurs through change processes which involve control over nature and production, and control over other people (1975, Introduction). If development goals and strategies are to reflect the values of a population, members of that population must have access to decision-making.

> It follows from this view of authentic development that innovation can be good only if it is judged by the concerned populace to be compatible with its image of the good life and good society (Goulet, 1971, p. 207).

Goulet noted some would argue that traditional societies are hostile to change. He discounted this view by arguing that receptivity or resistance to change varies according to how change fits with a people's "existence rationality," i.e., their ability to understand and integrate the change in the context of their present values (1975, Chapter 9). Therefore, development shaped by a people's values is not only ethical, but also potentially more effective because it is based on changes they can accept. Goulet also discussed values and international power relationships, maintaining that the inequality of these relationships has created a prevailing Western bias in most approaches to development.[4]

Though over-simplified, the core of Goulet's ideas can be summarized as follows. Ultimately, development represents a means for a population to actualize the values it holds most important. Particular development goals and strategies either contribute to or thwart advances toward this actualization. Goulet's writing marks an important transition in the conceptualization of development.

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[4]On the international level, Goulet explained that changes are needed in both technologically advanced countries ("voluntary austerity") and Third World countries (solidarity for greater bargaining strength) to enable a more equitable sharing of world wealth and power. If these changes do not occur, the Third World may have no recourse but to violence. Goulet did not deal with the problem of how power can be shared more equally within individual countries (Goulet, 1975, Chapters 4 and 11).

Traditionally, development theories viewed people as objects in and instruments for achieving economic and social goals. Now, men and women, human lives, have become the subjects for both development goals and strategies.

This humanistic view of development has gained wide attention amongst developers and has created a shared concern:

> 'Development' is inevitably a normative term and we must ask ourselves what are the necessary conditions for a universally acceptable aim--the realization of the potential of the human personality (Seers, 1969, p. 2).

The Human Needs Viewpoint

To address the need for a more humanistic approach to development, most developers have adopted a "human needs satisfaction" perspective. Initially, this viewpoint emphasized only "basic" or "minimal" needs. The UN Strategy for the Second Development Decade included the traditional economic targets for GNP and per capita growth, but also goals related to employment, education, health, nutrition, housing, and social welfare (Donald, 1971). Even today, some continue to stress this "basic needs" approach. In the report prepared for the 1976 World Employment Conference (International Labor Organization, 1977), "minimum requirements for private consumption" (food, shelter, clothing, etc.) and "basic" services (health, sanitation, water, etc.) were presented as the important goals of development.

These basic human needs approaches may have been influenced by Maslow's hierarchy of needs, though the connection to Maslow has not been directly addressed by the basic needs proponents. In any case, a number of contemporary theorists and practioners believe that a basic

needs view is too limited. Except in severe cases of deprivation, human needs are not hierarchical. Even poor villagers, who may be malnourished, have the kinds of needs Maslow identified as "self-esteem" and "self-actualization." Therefore, broader perspectives have been proposed, recognizing both the material and non-material needs of human beings. Some of these views, expressed in UN documents as well as by individual developers, will be reviewed in the remainder of this section.

The Report of the United Nations Expert Group on Human and Social Development stated that:

> The objective of development is to raise the level of living of the masses of the people to provide all human beings with the opportunity to develop their potential. This implies meeting such needs as continuing employment, secure and adequate livelihood, more and better schooling, better medical services, cheap transport, and a higher level of income. It also includes meeting non-material needs like the desire for self-determination, self-reliance, political freedom and security, participation in making the decisions that affect workers and citizens, national and cultural identity, and a sense of purpose in life and work (in Wignaraja, 1976, pp. 4-5).

These dimensions were also expressed in the "Cocoyoc Declaration," issued in Fall 1974 by Third World developers meeting in Mexico under the auspices of the UN Environmental Program and UNCTAD (United Nations Committee on Trade and Development). The Declaration called for the full development of men and women, which includes not only basic needs, but: "freedom of expression and impression;" "the right to give and receive ideas and stimulus;" "participation in shaping the basis of one's own existence;" and the right to a job in which production processes serve people, rather than vice versa (in Erb, 1975, annex).

In addition, the UN Asian Development Institute's study, Towards a Theory of Rural Development, presented five core components for development:

1. Man [and woman] as the end of development--which is therefore to be judged by what it does to him;
2. De-alientation of man in the sense that he feels at home with the process of development in which he becomes the subject and not the object;
3. Development of collective personality of man in which he finds his richest expression;
4. Participation as the true form of democracy;
5. Self-reliance as the expression of man's faith in his own abilities (Wignaraja, 1976, p. 6).

The study also included guidelines for a new strategy of development and specific rural development strategies related to the five concepts. However, these will not be considered in this more general overview of the meaning of development.[5]

Curle (1973) and Green (1976) each have proposed specific dimensions to represent the full range of human needs. Curle included four aspects in his definition: 1) safety--protection from individual or state victimization; 2) sufficiency--fulfillment of basic needs; 3) satisfaction--conditions for a "pleasant" life, including a minimum of psychic and cultural cost to meet needs; and 4) stimulus--intellectual, emotional, social, and spiritual challenge.

Green presented human needs according to five clusters:

a. personal consumer goods;
b. universal access to services;
c. the physical, human, and technological infrastructure, and the capacity to produce the capital and intermediate goods, necessary to provide the consumer goods and services;

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[4]The full report was published in the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation's bi-annual report, Development Dialogue 2 (1977).

d. productive employment both yielding high enough output and equitable enough renumberation so that individuals, families, and communal units earn (and produce for their own use) incomes providing effective access to consumer services; and
e. mass participation in decision-making and review and in strategy formulation and control of leaders as well as in implementation of projects and carrying out decisions (Green, 1976, p. 48).

People's Participation: As Agents and Beneficiaries

While the UN documents, Curle, and Green all included some degree of people's participation in and control over development goals and processes in their definitions, other developers consider "participation" and "control" to be of uppermost importance.

Based on a comparison of a number of Third World countries, Owens and Shaw have pointed to participation as the key to development. Their research examined and categorized societies as "dual," essentially paternalistic and centralized, and "modernized," essentially participatory and decentralized. Through this comparison, the researchers showed that modernizing-participatory societies met certain human needs better than did the dual societies (Note: Owens and Shaw did recognize that the countries studied were not fully participatory, in terms of civil and political liberties. However, they viewed even some participation in local decision-making as a possible step in this direction.) Their findings led them to support what they called a "broad-based" approach to development:

> . . . the modernization of a society involves a restructuring of relationships between government and people so that the mass of people can exercise some influence over national policies that affect their lives . . . . Hence, the first step in development is to arrange the mass of people in relatively autonomous local

> institutions and to link those institutions with higher levels of the economy and the society. People can be expected to invest in a modern economy only when they believe they are part of it and can benefit from it (Owens and Shaw, 1972, p. 17; pp. 13-14).

Addressing the prerequisites of participation, Roberts defined development as "the more equal distribution of power among people" (undated, p. 13), including physical, economic, and cultural power. Further, he added that the major task of development is "making the maximum number of people confident, aware, and eager to question" (p. 30). Goulet also echoed this position in his statement that:

> The key issue of the development debate is control over development processes, not men [and women] sharing in development's benefits (Goulet and Hudson, 1971, p. 45).

Goulet maintained that this issue gets at the root of a critical component for development, namely "the difference between being the agent of one's own development as defined in one's own terms and being a mere beneficiary of development as defined by someone else" (Goulet and Hudson, 1971, p. 19).

A belief in this right of all people to control the resources for and direction of their futures lead Gutierrez to advocate a definition of development as "liberation" (1973). Since control of development decisions at present is blocked by dominant national and international elites, real development can only occur when these constraints are challenged and overcome. Gutierrez conceived of liberation as liberation <u>from</u> oppressive forces and <u>for</u> the full development of the human personality. According to Seers, the forces preventing this liberation are poverty, unemployment, and inequality. He favored posting a sign in every civil service office around the world, to guide

all development planning. The sign would state simply:

> Will it reduce inequality?
> (Seers, 1969, p. 5)

Taking the issue of control a step further, Bendavid and Bendavid argued against any universal definition of development (1974). They based their position on the view that development should be defined by individual countries and peoples and that the West is arrogant in thinking it can define development for others while it has yet to solve many problems of its own. Wolfe (1974) noted that the nature of such locally-defined meanings of development would be determined by by choices related to five variables: autonomy, participation, production, consumption, and distribution.

The preceding discussion has reviewed some present trends in the definition of development. People--their values and needs--have moved to the forefront in development thinking. The new emphases represent a marked change from definitions prevalent in the sixties.

The final section of this chapter will summarize the major themes which emerged from examining both the causes of underdevelopment and the meaning of development.

'Another Development'

Two dominant characteristics emerge from the current view of development as described in the previous sections of this chapter. Basically, Third World development involves: the overcoming of internal and external dependency, caused by relationships with technologically advanced countries; and the realization of certain objectives which are

consonant with a particular people's values and which result in improvements in their lives, or in "human needs satisfaction." Thus, a comprehensive redefinition of development should reflect both the above attributes.

In 1975, the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation in Sweden formulated such a definition, titled 'another development.' For the most part, 'another development' closely corresponds to the major trends in development thinking discussed in this chapter. Since the concept is also clear and concise, it represents an appropriate and easy-to-remember definition of development for the purposes of this study. In addition, 'another development' is a good concept to utilize since it has become a rallying point for others committed to redefining development.[5]

'Another development' includes five general attributes; it is: need-oriented; endogenous; self-reliant; ecologically sound; and based on the transformation of social structures (Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1975). Generally, 'another development' outlines the features all societies, "whether North or South, whether centrally planned or market dominated, at a high or low level of productivity," require for development (Nerfin, 1977, p. 10). The five components of 'another development' are defined as follows:

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[5]The opening editorial, "Another Development and Collective Creativity" in Development Dialogue 2 (1977) mentions studies in progress in Asia, Africa, and Latin America on "another development"-type programs and strategies. Other such projects are presented in Another Development: Approaches and Strategies, also published by the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation (1977). Both available from: the Dag Hammarskjold Centre; Ovre Slottsgatan 2; S-752, 20 Uppsala; Sweden. The former is free; the latter is 80 kronors.

> Need-oriented, that is, geared to meeting human needs, both material and non-material. It begins with the satisfaction of the basic needs of those, dominated and exploited, who constitute the majority of the world's inhabitants, and ensures at the same time the humanization of all human beings by the satisfaction of their needs for expression, creativity, equality, and conviviality and to understand and master their own destiny.
>
> Endogenous, that is, stemming from the heart of each society, which defines in sovereignty its values and the vision of its future. Since development is not a linear process, there could be no universal model, and only the plurality of development patterns can answer to the specificity of each situation.
>
> Self-reliant, that is, implying that each society relies primarily on its own strength and resources in terms of its members energies and its natural and cultural environment. Self-reliance clearly needs to be exercised at national and international (collective self-reliance) levels but it acquires its full meaning only if rooted at local level, in the praxis of each community.
>
> Ecologically sound, that is, utilizing rationally the resources of the biosphere in full awareness of the potential of local ecosystems as well as the global and local outer limits imposed on present and future generations. It implies the equitable access to resources by all as well as careful, socially relevant technologies.
>
> Based on structural transformations; they are required, more often than not, in social relations, in economic activities, and in their spatial distribution, as well as in the power structure, so as to realize the conditions of self-management and participation in decision-making by all those affected by it, from the rural or urban community to the world as a whole, without which the above goals could not be achieved (Nerfin, 1977, p. 10).

Throughout the remainder of this study, 'another development,' as described above, will serve as the definition of Third World development toward which nonformal education is oriented.

Summary

This chapter has reviewed some recent perspectives on Third World development. The idea that underdevelopment has been caused by a "lack and a lag" in Third World countries has been challenged by historical analysis. Historical analysis has identified patterns of dependency between Third World and technologically advanced countries, which contribute to the maintenance of underdevelopment. As for the meaning of development, the actual improvement of human lives, rather than macro-economic and social growth, is emphasized.

The new perspectives on the causes of underdevelopment and the meaning of development are usefully summarized by the concept, 'another development.' With 'another development' serving as the definition of Third World development, Chapter III will consider where and how non-formal education fits.

C H A P T E R I I I

THE NFE PIECE IN THE DEVELOPMENT PUZZLE

Achieving the goals of 'another development' is an extremely complex task, a puzzle yet to be solved. Many kinds of changes are needed within countries, as well as between countries--economically, socially, and politically. This study focuses on only one potential contributor to Third World development: nonformal education. Specifically, what and how can NFE contribute to 'another development?'

Nonformal educators who adhere to the goals of 'another development' face a challenging task. The task involves: proposing concrete roles for nonformal education vis a vis 'another development;' translating those roles into concrete programmatic strategies; and ultimately, demonstrating the causal linkages between nonformal education and resultant development outcomes. This study focuses on the first two components of the task. Before beginning, however, the overall potential of education as a vehicle for change must be considered.

In most countries, whether Third World or technologically advanced, establishing the five attributes of 'another development' (need oriented; endogenous; self-reliant; ecologically sound; based on structural transformations) would involve major social change.

Traditionally, education has played a fairly limited role in promoting such change.

For the most part, formal education tends to support the status quo and to maintain socio-cultural values, norms, and myths. For example, Bowles et al. (1976) showed that schooling in the United States has had only a minimal impact on poverty. In the Third World, also, many educators and development planners have realized that the dominant role of formal education has been conservative in nature. Therefore, since the late sixties, they turned increasingly to non-formal education as a less tradition-bound and possibly more effective contributor to social change.

Recently, NFE has been examined in terms of its role in maintaining or changing socio-economic conditions. In their discussion, Bock and Papagiannis (1976) pointed out provoking reasons why non-formal education may actually serve to rigidify social and economic stratification, rather than to promote mobility for lower status groups. The authors noted in particular that NFE could become a second class form of education, further widening the rich-poor gap.

On the basis of studying about seventy NFE programs in ten Latin American countries, LaBelle (1976) concluded that most existing programs are "man [woman-] oriented" rather than "system-oriented" in their approach to change. In other words, these programs focus on changing the attitudes and behaviors of individuals rather than on changing socio-economic structures and processes. Recognizing the limited performance of many nonformal education programs so far,

LaBelle identified how NFE might enhance its potential to contibute social change.

LaBelle defined social change as:

> Social change, therefore, implies not only an alteration in man's behavior and in the relationship between that behavior and a respective human and physical environment, but it also requires an alteration in societal rules and structures enabling the new behavior and relationships to be established (LaBelle, 1976, p. 188).

For nonformal education to support social change, LaBelle identified five strategic principles:

> (1) understanding the needs of client populations; (2) involving clients in their own learning; (3) facilitating the transfer and application of new behaviors to the environment; (4) establishing linkages between the program and the components in the wider systems, and (5) attending to incentives both internal and external to the program (LaBelle, 1976, p. 196).

LaBelle maintained that the incorporation of these five principles into education programs would increase the likelihood that socio-economic change might occur.

In addition, LaBelle proposed a "multiple intervention approach" based on a model of culture which includes: "ideology," "technology," and "social organization" (1976, pp. 200-208). Besides adhering to the five principles listed above, educational programs should recognize that ideological, technological, and structural interventions are all required for social change. At present, most educational programs emphasize "ideology," i.e., sharing information or consciousness-raising. Some also include "technology" in terms of skills acquisition, but usually do not provide other necessary supports such as credit and supplies. Few educational programs, however, focus on "social

organization. . . . here the emphasis is on the development of local institutions, like cooperative or community enterprises, access to market facilities, elimination of middle-level brokers and so on" (LaBelle, 1976, p. 205). LaBelle essentially recommended that NFE be combined with other inputs in order for social change to result.

As the preceding discussion indicates, nonformal education may be no more effective a vehicle for social change than formal education, unless certain requirements are met. LaBelle's five strategic principles relating education to social change and his three areas in which interventions must occur are useful guidelines for designing change-oriented NFE.

In this chapter, a role for NFE which is supportive of 'another development' and consonant with LaBelle's guidelines will be identified. Subsequent chapters will then focus on translating this role into a concrete programmatic strategy and on the question of outcomes.

NFE is only one piece in the development puzzle which can not in itself accomplish the goals of 'another development.' As one of several development sectors, however, it should at least be oriented toward 'another development.' If all sectors adopted parallel orientations, the goals of 'another development' might stand a chance of being realized.

Perspectives on NFE and Development

In an attempt to define a role for NFE which is supportive of 'another development,' the work of several institutions involved in

conceptualizing nonformal education will be examined. The examination concentrates on how these organizations define development and NFE related to it. The groups include: Philip Coombs and his colleagues with the International Council for Educational Development (ICED); the Institute for International Studies at Michigan State University; and the Center for International Education at the University of Massachusetts/Amherst.[1]

Though Coombs and his colleagues (with Prosser and Ahmed, 1973; with Ahmed, 1974) presented NFE as a strategy for rural development, the potential was not critically analyzed. Coombs stated a "central question" for nonformal education (for rural children and youth):

> What might be done through nonformal education--in addition to transforming and strengthening the formal schools--to help meet the minimum essential learning needs of millions of educationally deprived rural children and adolescents and to help accelerate social and economic development in rural areas? (Coombs et al., 1973, p. 2).

Also, he defined rural development as:

> . . . along with increased production and income. . . the equitable distribution of income; increased employment; land reform; better health, nutrition, housing for all rural dwellers; expanded educational opportunities for all; the strengthening of local means of community self-government and cooperation; and the eradication of poverty and the promotion of social justice (Coombs et al., 1973, p. 22).

Coombs posed the question basic to this study, of the role of NFE in development, and espoused development goals similar to those of 'another development.' However, the educational strategies Coombs emphasized do not seem fully consonant with these goals.

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[1]The author is a member of the latter institution.

Coombs proposed a "minimum essential learning needs" approach to prepare youth to assume the responsibilities of adulthood: positive attitudes; functional literacy and numeracy; a scientific outlook; family life knowledge and skills; vocational knowledge and skills; knowledge and skills for civic participation (1973, pp. 13-17). Coombs also suggested four general areas of "educational needs for rural development:" general or basic education; family improvement education; community improvement education; and occupational education (1974, p. 15).

Coombs did not examine these categories in relation to his stated goals of development, to determine whether they in fact reflect all the concerns represented in the goals. This absence of value judgment is also evident in Coombs over-broad definition of NFE:

> . . . any organized educational activity outside the established formal system--whether operating separately or as an important feature of broader activity--that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives (Coombs et al., 1973, p. 11).

Coombs' studies on NFE for rural children and youth (1973; Ahmed and Coombs, 1975) and on NFE for improving rural economic productivity and employment possibilities (1974) presented a wide variety of case studies which illustrated the above definition. The case studies are important and useful as a survey of the range of activities which exist. In addition, Coombs discussed many important issues for NFE, such as: the relationship between formal and nonformal education; NFE technologies; planning; staffing; evaluation, etc. (1973, Chapter V; 1975, Chapters 10-13).

But, while the work of Coombs and his colleagues provides a good overview of current NFE programs and approaches, the studies do not really address the fundamental question of whether and how some approaches to NFE have a greater potential than others for promoting development. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, the goals of 'another development' involve major social change. For the most part, Coombs' view of nonformal education appears supportive of maintaining the status quo and is partly in conflict with the goals of 'another development.' Examining some of these goals, Coombs' approach is "need-oriented," but only to "minimum essential learning needs." The "self-reliance" and "structural transformations" also a part of 'another development,' are unlikely to evolve as a result of programs which emphasize meeting minimum needs or acquiring occupational skills. Though Coombs' studies raised concerns about the role of NFE in development, they are generally descriptive (and to a degree analytic) rather than prescriptive.

Most of the work of researchers at Michigan State University has also concentrated on a description and analysis of "what is," current practices and programs in nonformal education. This research, carried out to build a systematic knowledge base about nonformal education, has included nine areas of study: 1) historical perspectives; 2) categories and strategies; 3) country comparisons; 4) learning effectiveness; 5) economic factors; 6) case study survey; 7) model feasibility; 8) administrative alternatives; and 9) participant training. However, one discussion paper, "NFE and the Expanded Concept of Development" (Grandstaff, 1974) did focus

specifically on NFE as a strategy for development. The document is based on the premise that:

> . . . one possible way to 'target' inquiries into nonformal education is to relate the concept of nonformal education to the concept of development. . . .Assuming that education is usually an instrument toward some more general social goal, rather than an end in itself, our study of it has clarity and usefulness to the extent that it is informed by an understanding of that toward which it <u>is</u> an instrumentality (Grandstaff, 1974, pp. 1-2).

Grandstaff reviewed issues related to the "reconstruction of the concept of development" and identified six variables for inclusion in his expanded concept:

1. Greater effort in the 'humanitarian' or 'survival' domain.
2. A shift, on the part of developed nations, from a pro-active to a reactive construction of their role.
3. The building in of measures that are specifically and deliberately geared to the more equitable distribution of wealth.
4. An emphasis upon comprehensive and fundamental rural development.
5. Efforts directed toward employment, per se, rather than just to employment as a corollary of economic growth.
6. Acceptance of some measure of decentralization of planning and decision-making (Grandstaff, 1974, pp. 38-39).

These variables share some common emphases with 'another development,' through a commitment to a full human needs orientation, self-reliance, and the necessity of changing international and national socio-economic structures is not clear. Based on his reconstructed view of development, Grandstaff then proposed characteristics for NFE related to this view: low-cost; short-duration; need-based; aspiration-accommodating; employment-linked; decentralized; and highly distributive (in terms of benefits) (1974, p. 54). These characteristics suggest some possibilities for NFE for "another development."

More recently, another Michigan State researcher, Richard Niehoff, put forth a new definition of NFE which warrants consideration:

> NFE is defined for our purposes as the method of assessing the needs and interests of adults and out-of-school youth in developing countries--of communicating with them, motivating them to participate, helping them to acquire necessary skills, to adopt behavioral patterns, and related activities which will increase their productivity and improve their living standards (Niehoff, 1977, p. 8/footnote).

This definition presents NFE as a process through which people make decisions and take action to improve their lives. Depending on the nature and extent of people's involvement, Niehoff's process definition may be considered supportive of "another development."

At the University of Massachusetts, beginning with the Ecuador project in 1972, the work of the Center for International Education has emphasized "participation" and "collaboration" as important components for nonformal education. This interest implies a recognition that certain NFE approaches may be more appropriate to "another development" than others, though this relationship is not spelled out in the Center literature. In contrast to Coombs/ICED and the Institute at Michigan State, the Center for International Education emphasizes field application. Through a number of projects and activities around the world, the Center has developed "tools" which enable people to direct their own learning: learning games; facilitator-training strategies; and community-based delivery systems. In a sense, the utilization of these tools represents an operational definition of the Center's approach to NFE. This approach, when fully applied, is in harmony with "another development."

What Nonformal Education Should Be

The perspectives on NFE and development presented by Coombs and his colleagues, researchers at Michigan State University, and practitioners at the Center for International Education provide some guidelines related to the role of NFE in "another development." While Coombs' work was not too helpful in this respect, members of the Michigan group have identified NFE characteristics related to an "expanded" concept of development, which share some common features with "another development," and have stated a new "process" definition for NFE. Programmatic tools developed at the Center for International Education, which enable participants to control decisions and processes related to their own learning, also suggest some parameters for NFE.

On the whole, however, these institutions have not taken their analyses far enough. None have clearly articulated a particular view of development and NFE's corresponding role in it. Perhaps this can be attributed to a dependency on agency funding or to a concern with academic "objectivity." But, education can not be neutral. Implicitly if not explicitly, its forms, content, relationships, and processes contribute to certain outcomes, in this case to outcomes either consonant with or antagonistic to "another development."

Other educators have taken a clearer stand on what NFE "should be" as a means to promote change supportive of 'another development."

Vanek and Bayard (1975) presented a model of contrasting functions of education. Basically, every education program is either

"formal" or "life;" "socializing" or "mobilizing;" and "dominating" or "liberating." "Formal" refers essentially to schooling, while "informal" includes all out-of-school learning. "Socializing" education characterizes most traditional forms of education, in which individuals are molded to fit into the economic and political structures of a particular social system; both capitalist and socialist systems have structured education to correspond to their forms of production. "Mobilizing" education, in contrast, enables people to change their fundamental socio-economic environment. Education can also be "dominating," used by one group to control another, or "liberating," the antithesis of dominating.

All possible combinations of these dimensions are depicted in the following diagram. According to Vanek and Bayard, the lower right-hand cube (darkened for emphasis by the author) characterizes nonformal education which would be supportive of goals similar to those of 'another development.'

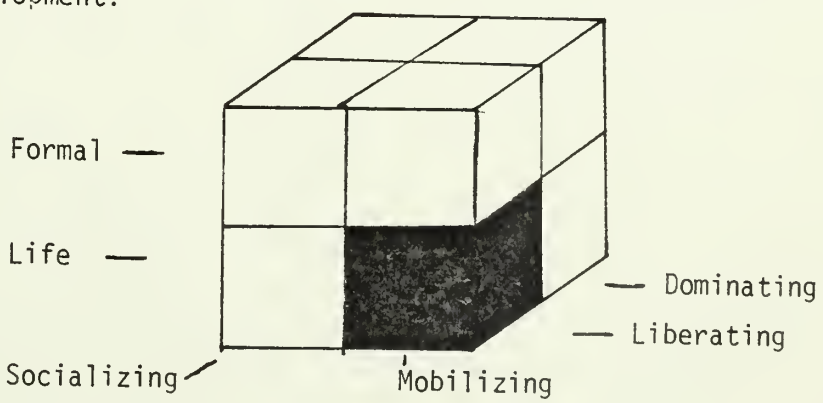

Fig. 1: Nonformal Education and Development

(from J. Vanek and T. Bayard, "Education Toward Self-Management: An Alternative Development Strategy." International Development Review 17 (4) (1975), p. 18.)

Green (1976) maintains that adult education (in his use, equivalent to nonformal education, except for the emphasis on age level) and national development have suffered from an isolation "from any articulated interaction with basic human needs" (p. 46). But Green's concept of "basic human needs" goes beyond what is usually included in the "basic" category and is similar to that included in 'another development:'

> It is necessary to underline that in speaking of self-reliance in terms of basic human needs one means basic structural changes and not marginal tinkering; liberation and not containment; and revolution (whether violent or otherwise) not 'reformism' (Green, 1976, p. 46).

In more detail, adult education should be addressed to: the development of consciousness of community spirit and community action and the overcoming of individual and community powerlessness in the face of official, natural, and man-made forces (Green, 1976, pp. 50-51). Toward this end, nonformal education should promote skills related to decentralization, participation and self-reliance (pp. 56-57). Green's concept of skills includes processes as well as home or job-related skills:

> Consciousness and organization are as critical as specific skills. . . . Vocational and liberal are a false dichotomy; skills are necessary but they include skill at analysis, organization, and mobilization as well as tilling the soil (Green, 1976, p. 57).

For Green, nonformal or adult education involves a struggle for liberation, equity, and justice; "it is more than a mild disagreement at a tea party on the governor's lawn" (Green, 1976, p. 57).

In 1976, four hundred participants from over eighty countries met in Tanzania to address the relationship between adult nonformal

education and development. The conferees adopted the opening address of President Julius Nyerere as their own basic statement on the objectives and strategies for adult education and development. Nyerere's speech, "Liberated Man, The Purpose of Development," declared that development should help to expand people's consciousness and power over themselves, their environments, and societies; to promote these attributes:

> Education has to increase men's [and women's] physical and mental freedom--to increase the control over themselves, their own lives, and the environment in which they live. The ideas imparted by education, or released in the mind through education, should therefore be liberating ideas. The skills acquired by education should be liberating skills. . . . In particular, it has to help men to decide for themselves--in cooperation--what development is (Nyerere, 1976, p. 10).

Nyerere also viewed adult nonformal education as a strategy: first, to inspire a desire for change and second, to help people work out what kind of change they want and how to create it. "Adult education thus incorporates anything that enlarges man's [or women's] understanding, activates them, helps them to make their own decisions, and to implement those decisions themselves" (Nyerere, 1976, p. 12).

Nonformal Education as an Empowering Process

All of the perspectives presented in the preceding section of this chapter on a role for nonformal education in 'another development' share a common emphasis: the need for NFE to enable people to develop skills and capabilities which increase their control over decisions, resources, and structures affecting their lives.

Proponents of this role assume that changes in power relationships and structures are a priority requirement for realizing the goals

of 'another development.' In particular, power must be shared more equitably so that all have the opportunity to affect development policy (at least at the local level) and to gain development benefits. Thus, NFE may contribute to 'another development' by augmenting people's influence over forces in a particular setting.

In this study, the role of nonformal education proposed above will be identified as "empowering". The means by which NFE fulfills this role will be called an "empowering process." As discussed earlier in this chapter, NFE's role in supporting new perspectives on Third World development has received minimal attention in the nonformal education literature. The present study begins to address that role by developing a particular nonformal education approach. The workings and results of two NFE for empowering programs are examined as part of the study, but definite conclusions can not be made about the ultimate effectiveness of the approach from this sample. Further study is required to assess the extent to which the proposed approach can actually empower and whether empowerment does in fact contribute to the goals of 'another development.'

For the purposes of this study, empowering will be defined as:

> People gaining an understanding of and control over social, economic, and/or political forces in order to improve their standing in society.

"Improvement in standing" may include indicators such as those developed by the Interamerica Foundation (IAF)[2] to assess "social gains:"

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[2]The Interamerica Foundation is a U.S. government-funded development assistance agency located in the Washington, D.C. area, which works mainly with programs in Latin America. The organization's approach emphasizes participation and control of the development activities by the "beneficiaries" and "changing the balance of power within a society" (1977, p. 83).

1. Access: greater opportunities to obtain resources;
2. Leverage: increase in collective bargaining strength;
3. Choices: ability and opportunity to choose amongst options;
4. Status: improved self-image, esteem, and positive sense of cultural identity;
5. Critical Reflection Capability: using experience to accurately assess the potential merits of competing problem-solving options;
6. Legitimation: people's demands considered by officials as just and reasonable;
7. Discipline: self-imposed standards for working productively with others; and
8. Creative Perceptions: a more positive and innovative view of one's relationship to his/her milieu (Interamerica Foundation, 1977, pp. 75-76).

The above definition of empowering assumes that advances in standing (represented by the IAF indicators), will result if people gain greater control over forces which affect their lives. Since the remainder of this study explores the dynamics of this change process and how it can be promoted through NFE, an explanation of the movement from greater control to increased standing will only be outlined here. Basically, empowering occurs through a number of stages. First, people develop an initial awareness that they can take action to improve their lives and acquire some skills to enable them to do so. Then, through taking action, they experience a loss of impotence and increase in confidence. Finally, as their skills and confidence continue to grow, people work jointly to exercise greater influence over decisions and resources which affect their welfare. (These stages bear some similarity to Freire's "conscientization process, discussed in the Chapter IV section on "Education for Justice.")

Nonformal education as an empowering process can be considered a vehicle which helps take people through the stages noted above. NFE for empowering, then, includes both a process and a product. Through

an educational program, people can begin to acquire confidence and skills and to work collectively; by applying their learning, people continue to learn as well as to make advances in their socio-economic standing.

NFE as an empowering process is a form of education which is oriented toward systems change rather than only individual change. As discussed in Chapter 1, the approach could be utilized in standard divisions of nonformal education (e.g., adult education; literacy and numeracy; health; vocational skills learning; etc.) as a means to promote both the acquisition of new information and skills and the utilization of these new capabilities for collaborative problem-solving.

Compared to most current approaches, NFE for empowering would necessarily differ in two major respects. First, the major focus would be the learners as a group, not as individuals. While the acquisition of individual knowledge and skills may be fostered, group solidarity and collective action-taking would be strongly encouraged. Second, NFE as an empowering process would emphasize both "content" and "process" competencies. Here, "content" refers to information and skills, while "process" concerns abilities necessary for gaining more control over societal forces, such as problem-solving or working collectively. Generally, existing NFE approaches tend to give priority to "content," even to ignore "process" completely. NFE for empowering would combine content objectives with process objectives. In other words, the learning consciously would be structured to result not only in gains of knowledge or skills, but in gains of capabilities for increasing individuals' influence in their communities. To structure such

learning, actual program structures and processes need to be recognized as important influences on the acquisition of process competencies (i.e., the medium is the message).

In considering the purpose of nonformal education as empowering, the argument can be raised that people with limited cultural, social economic, and/or political power can not really be empowered until system-wide structures are transformed to support the more equal distribution of resources. While such major social and economic transformations are desired, they will not happen quickly in most societies. Realistically, people must start where they are, with what is possible. Therefore, "mini-transformations," changes of structures and relationships in people's immediate environments, are seen as positive steps. NFE as an empowering process could contribute to these kinds of changes.

"Mini-transformations," however, may also deflect people's attention from the need for system-wide change as well. Thus, a dilemma exists: whether to work for system-wide change directly and possibly see no immediate change in people's lives or whether to work for system-wide change through numerous "mini-transformations" which do create changes in people's lives but may not lead to more basic and necessary change. Realizing the risk and possible limitations involved, this study of nonformal education as an empowering process opts for the latter strategy.

To assess the potential of nonformal education as a means for empowering, NFE must first be placed in a particular national context. In general, nations fall into two categories: those which support

'another development'-type goals in their national plans and those which do not. This study focuses on the second category, of countries not committed to 'another development' and possibly antagonistic to sharing power and resources more equitably. In such contexts, NFE's potential as an empowering process may be harder to realize. But Green offered some strategies for those working in non-supportive contexts:

> If these conditions are not met [i.e., a national commitment to an "another development"-type strategy] then the choice before the adult educator is grimmer. He [she] can support programmes which allow a few of the illiterate to escape from poverty as individuals at the price of weakening their classes and communities. He can pursue programmes which are verbally (and in a European context would be) liberal and/or conservative social democratic and hope they will generate forces for change, altering elite priorities toward a basic human need-oriented strategy. Or he can press with a full blooded programme knowing that it will be accepted only if the decision takers misunderstand it and that objectively he is seeking to create the conditions for radical change, i.e., is practicing sedition (Green, 1976, p. 57).

Or,

> If the analysis implies major systematic changes are needed for adult education--as proposed--to have a role then the proponent must either seek out and develop a common interest with groups and classes also seeking systematic change, revise his proposals to meet dominant elite interests, or give up (Green, 1976, p. 54).

Only further study will indicate the accuracy of these options and whether any others exist.

Summary

Though the limitations of nonformal education as a means to promote social change must be recognized, NFE is nonetheless a develop-

ment sector with some potential. To identify different perspectives on the role of NFE in 'another development,' the work of a number of institutions involved in conceptualizing nonformal education was reviewed. For the most part, these institutions did not make explicit their positions on Third World development and NFE's possible contribution to it.

Therefore, other sources were examined to identify perspectives on what NFE for 'another development' should be. Most of the sources pointed to the importance of enabling people to develop skills and capabilities which increase their control over their lives. On this basis, the idea of nonformal education as an empowering process has been proposed. NFE for empowering would focus on learners as a group and emphasize "process" objectives, as well as knowledge and skills learning. Possible limitations for empowering people in contexts not committed to 'another development' were suggested; but real limitations and potential--of NFE as an empowering process can only be identified through in-depth exploration.

The remainder of this study will evolve an operational definition of NFE as an empowering process for Third World contexts. As the first step, Chapter IV will survey a number of empowering processes and deduce a set of general characteristics as broad guidelines for NFE.

CHAPTER IV

A SURVEY OF EMPOWERING PROCESSES

In the earlier chapters of this study, a new role for nonformal education has been proposed. Chapter II reviewed recent perspectives on Third World development, summarized conceptually as "another development." Then, Chapter III made the case that nonformal education could contribute to "another development" by serving as a vehicle for empowering, i.e., people gaining an understanding of and control over social, economic, and/or political forces in order to improve their standing in society. The remainder of the study will deal with how the proposed idea of NFE as an empowering process can be put into action.

This chapter will define the major characteristics of an empowering process, in order to establish general parameters for nonformal education programs. What is an empowering process? What components exist in such processes? What factors enhance or inhibit effectiveness? How does an empowering process work? An examination of several existing empowering processes can help answer these questions.

From the sixties to the present, striking parallels have emerged in many aspects of human endeavor--efforts toward increased control and self-determination for the people involved. Four such efforts were selected to represent empowering for the purposes of this study. These areas provide a diverse and extensive source of informa-

tion from which to deduce the characteristics of an empowering process:[1]

--community organization

--worker self-management and collaboration

--participatory approaches in adult education, research, and rural development

--education specifically aimed at confronting oppression and injustice.

In the chapter, each of these four processes will be examined in turn. The individual sections open with a short definitional overview. Next, they describe actual examples of the processes in action; the accounts are intentionally detailed to provide sufficient data for defining the components of an empowering process. At the end of the sections, characteristics of the process reviewed are summarized. In addition, conditions which seem required for effectiveness are highlighted. Finally, at the end of the chapter, all four empowering processes are compared and the general characteristics of an empowering process are defined.

The actual examples of empowering processes, which comprise the core of the chapter, were chosen with their relevance to Third World nonformal education in mind. Since this study focuses on NFE in non-revolutionary contexts, examples from countries such as China or Cuba are not included. However, the examples do represent a number of Third World and technologically-advanced contexts. In using both kinds of sources, the issue of cultural appropriateness must be raised.

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[1]For those interested in organizations working in these four fields, a list is included in appendix A.

Obviously, some aspects of empowering processes developed in technologically-advanced contexts may conflict with certain values and behaviors of Third World peoples. While this chapter concentrates only on setting the general parameters of an empowering process, cultural considerations will be addressed in Chapter VI in relation to specific nonformal education programs.

Enabling Communities to Take Control

"Community organization" first appeared in U.S. social work textbooks in the 1920's and 1930's; however, not until the War on Poverty in the sixties did the concept and its application receive much attention. Community organization was selected for consideration in this study because its overall purpose is to enable communities to improve and change their socio-economic milieu and/or their position in that milieu.

Community organization developed largely as a response to the conditions of poor people in Western urban settings, but is now practiced in a variety of forms in urban and rural locales, in Third World as well as technologically-advanced contexts. This review draws on the community organization literature, as well as reports of actual community organization activities.

Community organization is one of the major divisions in the field of social work (the other two are "casework" and "groupwork") and as in any discipline, theorists have spent much energy bickering about its meaning. To an outsider, however, these differences appear to be ones of degree rather than kind. In addition, community organization

is practiced by many who are not formally social workers but who are committed to change beneficial to poor people. In Community Organizing, two conceptualizers presented a definition which encompasses the major perspectives:

> . . . a method of intervention whereby individuals, groups, and organizations engage in planned action to influence social problems. It is concerned with the enrichment, development, and/or change of social institutions and involves two major related processes: planning (that is: identifying problem areas, diagnosing causes, and formulating solutions) and organizing (that is: developing the constituencies and devising the strategies necessary to effect action) (Brager and Specht, 1973, p. 28).

In practice, community organization employs three different approaches: social planning and coordination of services; locality development; and social action (Rothman, 1974); these are discussed thoroughly in Strategies for Community Organizing: A Book of Readings (Cox et al., 1974). Here, we will focus on the latter two forms.

Locality development processes essentially enable people to cooperatively and self-reliantly solve community problems. Social action strategies aim to enable people to jointly challenge and change existing community power relationships. In terms of the relationship between community members and outside authorities, locality development assumes collaboration and cooperation, whereas social action assumes either competition or conflict (Brager and Specht, Chapter 12, 1973). Since both approaches contribute to empowering, though in different forms and to different degrees, each will be examined in detail.

Locality Development

To some extent, locality development is similar to community

development, at least the non-directive approach to community work defined by Batten (1967). Some of the community organization literature uses the two terms interchangeably, but Ross in Community Organization: Theory, Principles, and Practice argued that a difference exists (Chapter 1, 1967). He maintained that community development is distinguished by an external agent who plays an active role in shaping what and how change will take place and by a strong goal orientation. In contrast, community organization, which for Ross means locality development, attempts to build local initiative and emphasizes a "process objective:"

> Community organization, as the term is to be used in this book, is to mean a process by which a community identifies its needs or objectives, orders (or ranks) these needs or objectives, develops the confidence and will to work at these needs or objectives, finds the resources (internal and/or external) to deal with these needs and objectives, takes action in respect to them, and in so doing, extends and develops cooperation and collaborative attitudes and practices in the community (Ross, 1967, p. 40).

For Ross, this approach is based on a number of value positions, including the beliefs that: 1) communities can develop the capacity to deal with their own problems; 2) people want to and can change; 3) people should participate in controlling change in their communities; and 4) self-determined changes have meaning and permanence that imposed changes do not have (Ross, 1967, Chapter 3). Ross also identified the distinguishing features of what is essentially a model for collaborative problem-solving:

--self-determination (local control)
--moving at the community's pace
--use of indigenous plans
--growth in community capacity (i.e., to work together and to solve problems)
--development of the will to change.

The locality development approach takes many interesting forms when put into action. A number of examples will be reviewed in the following pages, including those related to community problem-solving and to self-help.

A classic example of locality development involved a young white woman with no particular organization affiliation and a community of about 400 blacks, called West Heights (Eugster, 1974). In 1958, the woman entered the community "in order to increase the ability of its residents to deal effectively with the problems of their environments," some of which included inadequate housing and school facilities (p. 241). This goal was accomplished through a slow and gradual process.

The process began with what Ms. Eugster called "slow paced private exploration"--a few weeks of walking and talking--to become acquainted with the community and its members. After this, she suggested an informal meeting at someone's home; when no one showed up, she approached the Baptist Church Board to request the use of the church hall for three educational programs. The request raised controversy among the Board members, but they finally agreed as long as the three programs would focus only on "public speaking." Ms. Eugster presented the three sessions, after which she was encouraged by the Board to "keep going." She agreed on the condition that an Education Committee be established to share planning and administrative responsibility. The Committee formed but participated sporadically and passively: "At monthly committee meetings, my suggestions were passively accepted" (Eugster, 1974, p. 243).

After a few months of programs on child care, health, the danger of rumors, and other topics, a children's program was initiated at the request of the youth themselves. However the first session was termed a "disaster" and precipitated a crisis for the whole education program. Committee members decided that the entire effort had been a "waste of time," but Ms. Eugster encouraged them to attend one last meeting, if only to formally end the program. At the meeting, the Baptist minister urged the committee to reconsider the program objectives, a request which sparked active discussion. One of the members asked Ms. Eugster her opinion:

> Here was the first of the crucial moments for which a field educator waits: an opportunity to relinquish or transfer responsibility from himself [herself] to the culturally deprived people [sic] with whom he works. Thus, I tried in my reply to convey my belief and gratification that if it ever had been my program it was so no longer (Eugster, 1974, p. 244).

After further discussion, the committee members did assume ownership of the program, by restating its objective as: "a chance to think together." This was the turning point. In subsequent months, the community attacked a major local problem, the low school performance levels of the youth, through an innovative home study program. The program set up an after school tutoring network in West Heights homes and churches, utilizing volunteer tutors from outside the community. During this time, increasing leadership and responsibility shifted from Ms. Eugster to community members. A previously meek blind woman became a forceful committee chairperson, and an honors ceremony was held to recognize youth, parents, and the committee. The committee gradually became involved in other efforts at community problem-solving as well;

and though some minor, and major, crises occurred, the committee was able to handle them with a varying degree of support from Ms. Eugster:

> Despite its fluctuating reality, the field educator will foster the image of indigenous control. For the successful transfer of control rests in part upon fiction which precedes and makes possible the fact: fiction that the culturally deprived [sic] leaders are leading before they in fact lead; that they are controlling before they in fact control. At best, the leaders of the deprived [sic] community will recognize this fiction as an idealized image of themselves which they intermittently approach and which, if they wish, they can make true (Eugster, 1974, p. 252).

A number of features of the West Heights study can be considered typical of community problem-solving efforts: the nondirective leadership style of the outside agent; the building of leadership capabilities in the community; and the gradual transfer of initiative and responsibility from the agent to community members. Additional examples which demonstrate these characteristics are documented in Julian Greifer's Community Action for Social Change: A Casebook of Current Projects (1974). The book includes case studies of communities tackling problems in the areas of housing, unemployment, day care, and "delinquent" youth.

Two other cases are particularly useful for identifying specific techniques to promote community problem-solving. A project sponsored by the University of Georgia utilized training workshops, while another coordinated by West Virginia University created community improvement committees.

The Leadership Development Among Rural Women program was developed by the Department of Adult Education at the University of Georgia to promote the learning and application of problem-solving

skills (Rossing and Kuhn, 1977). Operating in rural Morgan County over a period of two years, the project was based on a five stage process. First, trainers from outside the communities participated in an extensive orientation on the target communities and the project approach. Second, "engagement" occurred through contact with people individually and at a public meeting, which was held to initiate a "collaborative diagnosis" of the community's needs. Third, a community planning council formed and participated in monthly training workshops for eight months; the workshops were designed to foster skill development related to cooperation and problem-solving. Fourth, the outside trainers gradually "disengaged" by transferring increased responsibility to the council and by facilitating the continuation of the organization, through involving the leaders in deciding a name, setting goals, etc. Fifth, in the follow-up stage trainers served only as "technical consultants" to the planning council.

According to the project report, this model stressed the following attributes: a) a process orientation, in which stages, roles, and methods were emphasized; b) participant-centeredness; c) power enhancement; d) open, voluntary, active participation; e) concreteness, relevance, and a reality-basis; f) initiation of a long-term developmental process (catalyzed by the workshops and participant trainer interaction) and g) self-sustenance or continuation. A companion handbook to the report (Kuhn and Rossing, 1977) presents information which could be utilized in other workshops, including practical steps for problem-solving and ideas for creating action plans, chairing a meeting, using community resources, etc.

At West Virginia University the Appalachia Center coordinated a Community Improvement Committees project from 1963-68; the committees successully lead local problem-solving efforts in very poor Appalachian mountain hollows (Woodhall, 1969). Initially, an extension agent spent considerable time in the two communities and worked with community members to set up the committees. These committees identified and researched community problems, involving other community members in their efforts as well. Participants wrote reports or tape recorded their findings if they could not write; by the end of six weeks, the committee had produced a series of community problem reports. During this period, the extension agent had served as a "friend" and "guide," rather than as an expert.

Next, the committee members invited representatives of ten public agencies to meet with them for problem-solving workshops, led and planned by the members themselves:

> By the time the workshop sessions were held, community residents seemed to have developed a stronger sense of responsibility for their common problems and a greatly increased optimism and enthusiasm toward the possible outcome of the meetings. When the staff had begun to work with them, the citizens expressed some feelings of apathy and hopelessness toward the idea of really having any significant impact on the destiny of their communities. As time passed following the workshops and contacts with agency representatives continued periodically, citizens began to see tangible evidence of the accomplishments of their community problem-solving endeavors (Woodhall, 1969, p. 11).

This evidence included: a community water system, to replace a well; new roads; garbage dumping facilities; removal of a mosquito breeding area; and additional recreational facilities.

Besides community problem-solving efforts, self-help represents a form of locality development. Self-help concerns interest or problem-based, rather than geographical, communities. Two interesting examples described in Peoplepower (Doughton, 1976) demonstrate the strength of self-help efforts. In Indianapolis from 1965-70, the Chamber of Commerce operated a Volunteer Advisor Corps to tackle severe under and unemployment. Individuals were paired, a volunteer to guide the jobhunting process and a job seeker; over five years of operation, 7,000 pairings were arranged and ninety percent of those paired found jobs.

In another setting, the Diamond Alkali Corporation in Houston, seventy black and Spanish-speaking unskilled laborers could not advance to higher jobs because of their less-than-ninth-grade-equivalency educational background. Previous employee education programs had failed, but then the employees had an opportunity to set up a program themselves. The workers, 25-45 years old, arranged for the funding, selected materials (with their children's advice), selected teachers, and coordinated a car pool. After a few years, all but seven out of the original seventy who participated had been promoted. These and other groups described by Doughton operated independently and only sought outside assistance when certain expertise was required: "the advisors were on tap, not on top" (Doughton, 1976, p. 21).

Self-help has received increasing attention in recent years; a passage from Self-Help in the Human Services summarizes some of the ingredients and dynamics of this form of locality development:

> The power of self-help mutual aid groups derives from the fact that they combine a number of very important properties: These include the helper-therapy principle [i.e., those who help are themselves helped], the aprofessional dimension, consumer intensivity, the use of indigenous or peer support, and the implicit demand that the individual can do something for him or herself. Self-help groups show that people need not be passive, that they have power--particularly in a group that demands they do something for each other; a group, that, while permitting dependence, demands autonomy and independence; a group that, while giving support, demands action and work; a group that is not leader or profession-centered, but peer-centered. . . . they enable their members to feel and use their own strengths and their own power and to have control over their own lives (Gartner and Reissman, 1977, pp. 98-99).

So far, this section has examined the approach to community organization known as locality development. However, some involved in community organization work do not believe that the building of community problem-solving capabilities or creation of self-help groups is enough. While such efforts are necessary to confront existing problems, they fail to attack the causes of these problems, namely the unequal distribution of power and resources.

Community organization theorists who hold this view, such as Grosser in New Directions in Community Organization: From Enabling to Advocacy (1976) and Clark and Harris in A Relevant War Against Poverty: A Study of Community Action Programs and Observable Community Change (1969), advocate social change. Grosser identified "the key to a solution as power--sufficient power to overcome a condition willfully created by society" (p. 13) and Clark/Harris seriously questioned the degree to which the affluent would permit real change for the poor, particularly change based on action by the people themselves.

Social Action

In practice, social action is best represented by Saul Alinsky's mass-based organization strategy. Alinsky developed his strategy by drawing upon the methods of early twentieth century political and labor movements and through his work with the "Back of the Yards" communities in Chicago's stockyards area. Since the strategy's creation, it has evolved and been adapted for use by a wide range of communities, including: poor blacks and whites in the U.S., U.S. middle class groups, and Third World urban squatters.

The most complete reference for Alinsky's strategy, in concept and application, is the annotated Community Organization Bibliography (Kirklin and Franzen, 1974). The authors of the bibliography define mass-based organization as follows:

> Large numbers of people are organized to bring into being a new power aggregate (or community organization) to force the existing political/economic power structure to change public and private policies. The battle is classically seen to be between the 'power haves' and the 'power have nots' (Kirklin and Franzen, 1974, p. 5).

Alinsky's own book, Reveille for Radicals (1946), presents an overview of the elements of the mass-based strategy and more particularly, creates a sense of the human values upon which it is based.

The mass-based organization strategy, as described in Alinsky's book, includes a number of components: an outside organizer, indigenous leaders, a coalition of people's organizations, democratic procedures, considerable structure, and tactics based on self-interest and confrontation. In the approach, a trained organizer first must be invited to a community. After arriving, he/she finds "native leaders," through

"patient participation in informal settings." The leaders are usually part of existing community groups or organizations, from which develops a people's organization, actually a coalition of organizations: "The people's organization is the banding together of large numbers of men and women to fight for those rights which ensure a decent way of life" (Alinsky, 1946, p. 132).

This new community power base operates according to democratic procedures, including a yearly Congress (with the spirit and aura of a political convention) to elect officers and to decide upon priority community issues. An interesting technique for defining these issues is the "program ballot" in which community members each answer: "If I had my way, this is what I would do to make my city the happiest, healthiest, prettiest, and most prosperous place in the world (Alinsky, 1946, p. 128). Popular participation in the people's organization, according to Alinsky, can not be expected to exceed five to seven percent; however, this proportion is actually higher than most rank and file participation in other U.S. organizations.

In terms of tactics, Alinsky advocated popular education among the people's groups (for the purposes of promoting communication and sharing needed information on consumer and public affairs) and confrontation with authorities. Some have criticized Alinsky for this confrontational aspect of his strategy, for creating conflict in communities. However, he and his supporters have believed that conflict--alienation and polarization--already exists in power "haves" and "have nots" situations. To resolve this conflict and bring true

reconciliation, a more equal balance of power must be created by direct challenge to existing relationships.

The Alinsky book is also full of examples of how appealing to or threatening a person's self-interest can foster cooperation amongst community groups or pressure public officials to change policies. However, Alinsky's writing is not in any way belligerent, but full of compassion and love for people. Generally, while the book does not deal with organizing in a step-by-step fasion, it presents many personal anecdotes which provide a sense of Alinsky as a person and his committment to empowering others:

> It is impossible to overemphasize the enormous importance of people's doing things themselves.
>
> The efforts that are exerted in the actual earning of the objectives are part and parcel of the achievement itself (Alinsky, 1946, p. 174; p. 125).

Today, the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) in Chicago continues to conduct training programs in the mass-based organizing strategy. IAF has defined several characteristics of the strategy, which supplement Alinsky's description:

1. It is rooted in local tradition.
2. Its energy is generated from the self-interest of the local people.
3. The action and organization develop together.
4. It arises out of the local people and they are involved in it.
5. Its program is broad as the social horizon of the community.
6. It operates on the basis of pressure and does not shy away from controversy.
7. It utilizes or develops indigenous leaders.
8. It becomes self-financed at the end of three years (Church Federation of Greater Chicago, 1974, p. 1).

As noted earlier, the mass-based organization strategy has been utilized by diverse communities. We will examine two experiences, one

in the U.S. and the other in the Phillipines, to further identify how the strategy works.

Radicals in Urban Politics: The Alinsky Approach (Bailey, 1974) presents an extensive case study of one Alinsky organization, the Chicago-South Austin Organization for a Better Austin.[2] The organization was a coalition of community groups of ten members of more, varying from 189 in 1969 to 124 in 1970. Part of the book deals with the structure of the organization, including elected representative bodies, committees, and the annual congress. Bailey also discusses other dimensions already mentioned as typical of mass-based organizing: native leadership; the catalytic role of the organizer; the necessity of developing a local power base; and the use of confrontational tactics including picketing, boycotts, marches, rent strikes, and harassment of bureaucrats:

> To compensate for the absence of power resources that depend upon either wealth or special access, protest is used (Bailey, 1974, p. 83).

The Organization for a Better Austin was successful in securing a number of changes for its community: repair of slum dwellings; defeat of split shifts in the schools; better garbage collection; a new community employment counselor and housing referral service; and a new day care center and senior citizen housing facility. Bailey attributed these gains to: the absence of dependency on the government or single source funds; cooperation between professional organizations and local

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[2]The most comprehensive case study of an Alinsky-style organization is: John Hall Fish, Black Power/White Control--The Struggle of the Woodlawn Organization in Chicago. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973). This study was not included in the above discussion because of its very detailed presentation.

citizens; grass roots organization based on existing clubs; and protest tactics. In his general analysis of the Alinsky approach, Bailey expressed two surprising insights which had also struck the author of the present study; one refers to "native leadership" and the other to the approach in general:

> It appears that many of the qualities needed for effective conventional civic participation may also be needed for effective unconventional civic participation and that the major factor separating radicals from the other civic leaders is their orientation toward government.
>
> The surprising aspect of the Alinsky organization is not its radicalness, but conventionality (Bailey, 1974, pp. 133, 144).

In the Philippines, the Zone One Tondo Organization (ZOTO) has used the mass-based organizing strategy to fight for squatter's rights, particularly land for housing (ZOTO, 1973). Squatters have lived on a strip of landfill in the port area of Manila since the 1950's, and over the years, the Philippine government has demonstrated ambivalence about their situation. Laws have been passed in favor of the squatters and then repealed in subsequent proclamations or orders. To challenge government legislation and to secure needed services, the squatters made numerous uncoordinated attempts at organizing. Finally, in 1970, ZOTO was established, an Alinsky-type organization of organizations. The sixty-four founders had been trained in mass-based organization by the Philippine Ecumenical Council on Community Organization.

Early in 1971, ZOTO held its organizing convention, composed of 750 delegates from fifty-one organizations (social clubs to labor groups), representing about 20,000 residents:

> The event marked a first in Asia's history: the first time that such a group, representing a large number of poor people had formed themselves into a functioning organization designed to forge for themselves instruments of power to alter the course of their own destinies (ZOTO, 1973, p. 14).

Using democratic procedures, the conferees elected officers, adopted a constitution, set objectives, and established a number of working committees such as job placement, disaster relief, and press relations. Plans were also laid for a general assembly to be held fortnightly.

In addition to operating as a democratically-organized coalition of existing organizations and to utilizing indigenous leadership, ZOTO adopted the confrontational tactics of Alinsky's strategy. ZOTO members, just as organizers in other countries, saw direct action as necessary in order to challenge the existing power structure and distribution of resources. Since the early seventies, ZOTO has been extremely active in employing a wide range of forms of protest to secure land rights, to resist demolition of existing homes, and to obtain services; specific examples include: a mass welcome for Pope Paul VI on his visit to the Philippines (for publicity); picketing international relief and national government agencies; demonstrating at the Philippines congress; sit-ins when land has been rezoned; parades, processions, and rallies; flooding public officials' offices with petitioners; a protest Mass; and pressuring particular groups, like the Catholic Bishop's Conference of the Philippines, for support.

The tactics have yielded varying degrees of success and have been supplemented by community service projects and the preparation of concrete proposals to the government for a legal settlement. However, a permanent solution to the squatter problem has not been achieved as of this writing.

Though martial law has been in effect in the Philippines since 1972, ZOTO has been allowed to function, though not without restrictions and harassment. Most recently, certain ZOTO leaders have been forced underground by perceived threats to them and their families. Squatter organizations, similar to ZOTO, in Thailand and Indonesia and workers' groups in South Korea have also been subject to government pressure. In such repressive contexts, as well as in certain situations in the U.S., the implementation of the Alinsky strategy may involve considerable personal risk for those involved. The risk factor must also be included as a component of the mass based organization approach. In addition to risk, however, this form of community organization also probably has a greater potential for gains--in terms of empowering--than does the locality development approach discussed earlier.

Summary of Characteristics of Community Organization

From the review of community organization literature and programs, several distinguishing features of this form of empowering emerge. The community organization strategy:

--attempts to build local capability through nurturing grass roots organization and creating coalitions of organizations;

--builds on natural groups or structures;

--begins with the people's interests and concerns and moves at the community's pace;

--emphasizes the identification and development of "native" leaders;

--promotes peer support and mutual help;

--is open-ended, usually having no specific content goal but aiming to activate people to work together;

--involves building cooperative community problem-solving capabilities and/or creating a people's power base to confront existing community power relationships;

--emphasizes discussion methods, democratic procedures, and action-taking;

--includes an organizer who serves as a "process guide" and resource person; the "experts are on tap, not on top;" and

--enables the transfer of initiative and responsibility from the organizer to the people, according to a general pattern: gradual entry of the organizer → catalyst to bring people together and raise issues (workshop, problem reports, etc.) → organizing or training → local autonomy.

Consideration for Effectiveness. The literature and program review also suggests a number of considerations, which stand out as particularly significant to this strategy for empowering, related to: the role of the organizer; differing expectations of the organizer and community members; and the nature of community groups.

1) The role of the organizer: An organizer must help people to do things themselves. During the period of involvement with a community, the organizer's role should become increasingly less active and the role of the community members, increasingly more active. An effective organizer is an enabler, broker, advocate, and activist (Grosser, 1976); a guide, content expert, and therapist (Ross, 1967).

2) Differing expectations of the organizer and community members: According to Ross (1967), community members and an organizer will naturally differ in their committment to a "content" vs. "process" objective:

> This goal [i.e., the development of the community's problem-solving capacity] may gradually be understood by the participants, but it is not unusual for the community, like the patient in therapy, to be primarily concerned with the

> immediate problem and for the professional worker, like the therapist, to be primarily concerned with long-term objectives of adjustment and integration (Ross, 1967, p. 51).

A six-year research study conducted by the University of Michigan provided findings which support Ross' idea. Drawing on over 900 case studies and controlled field tests, Rothman et al. (1976) identified the major factor which encourages participation. Their findings concluded simply that participation is a function of appropriate benefits: material (immediate); interim (anticipatory); social (interpersonal); and symbolic (e.g., status). Thus, if members of a particular community perceive work on a certain community problem to have identifiable rewards, their continued involvement will be reinforced, which contributes to the organizer's objective.

3) The nature of groups: Brager and Specht (1973, Chapter 4) presented an important " maturational view of group life." In their view, an effective community group grows through a number of stages: social group (informal discussion; socializing); interest group (coalescing around a particular issue); organized group (interested in community problems); and institutional group (able to relate to other organizations and draw on experience and resources). An organizer should bear these stages in mind in order to understand the potential--and limitations--of groups at different levels and in order to guide groups through the stages.

Equalizing Power in Work Relationships

Both practical and ethical arguments support efforts which attempt to equalize, or at least share, power in work relationships.

Practically, research has indicated that the morale and producitivity of workers is enhanced when they are involved to some degree in making decisions about matters which affect their lives (Blumberg, 1968). Ethically, some theorists argue that hierarchical forms of organization are dehumanizing and that workers have a right to be involved in such decision-making (Hunnius, 1973). Efforts to change the balance of power in work relationships occur in business or industrial settings as "worker self-management" and in non-industrial, usually human service settings, as "collaboration." Both will be considered in this section.

Worker Self-Management

Since the early seventies, an identifiable movement for workplace democratization has emerged. Numerous books and articles now exist which explore abstract or theoretical issues, such as the nature of workplace reforms in capitalist vs. socialist systems, as well as which document concrete examples of attempts at democratization (see particularly Hunnius et al., 1973 and Zwerdling, 1978). Conferences have enabled democratization proponents to make contact; internationally many met in Yugoslavia at the Conference on Participation and Self-Management (Zagreb Institute for Social Research, 1973) and in the U.S. others have convened at the yearly meetings of the Association for Self-Management.

But, even more significantly, over the past decade, actual experiments in workplace democratization have increased in number and have provided evidence that factories and businesses can in fact be managed with considerable worker involvement or by the workers themselves.

Experiments in workplace democratization, also generally referred to as worker self-management, are geographically widespread and take various forms. The Mondragon network of sixty producer and service cooperatives in Spain; Yugoslavia's national system for decentralized self-management in all economic and social organizations; and China's factory management structure all represent large-scale efforts in self-management. In the United States and Europe, experiments exist on a smaller scale, usually within individual enterprises. Such smaller scale experiments, which also require no changes in the external socio-economic system in order to concur, will be the focus here.

The general nature of self-management experiments can be understood by contrasting them with traditional enterprises. In traditional enterprises, workers serve as a means to the end of profit maximization for manager-owners. But in self-managed enterprises, this relationship is reversed. An organization's profits, as well as processes, are oriented to the benefit of workers, socially and psychologically, as well as financially. Beyond this general orientation, six necessary components for self-management systems have been identified by researcher Paul Bernstein in Workplace Democratization: Its Internal Dynamics:

1. Participation in decision-making (variables: degree, issues, and level).
2. Feedback of economic results to workers, both profits and information.
3. Full sharing with employees of management-level information and expertise (skills upgrading).
4. Guaranteed individual rights.

5. An independent board of appeals in case of disputes.

6. A particular set of "participatory" attitudes held by both workers and management (Bernstein, 1973, p. 9).

Though self-management experiments may share the above six components, they differ in their specific form and the degree of worker empowering involved. Zwerdling (1978, pp. 1-8) classified these differences according to four categories, which generally move from less worker power to more worker power: humanization of work, labor-management quality of work life committees, workers' ownership, and workers' control. For the most part, the experiments in the first three categories increase employee influence but maintain the traditional management-employee power relationship; even in worker-owned companies, the workers may have no say or only a limited say in management. In contrast, worker controlled enterprises have workers as managers and producers, and often as owners as well. Zwerdling explained these contrasts as follows:

> Workers at a humanized factory can ask the management to give them certain concessions; workers in companies with labor-management projects can negotiate for concessions in collective bargaining, or try to blackmail the company--by going on strike--to grant them. But only workers in a self-managed firm have the actual voting power to shape the kind of workplace environment and worklives they want (Zwerdling, 1978, p. 7).

Using Zwerdling's categories as a framework, this section will examine a number of self-management experiments which involve considerable empowering. Few existing experiments represent full worker control; therefore some labor-management committee and worker-ownership schemes which involve high levels of worker autonomy and influence will also be included:

Labor-Management Quality of Work Life Committees	Norwegian Industrial Democratization Project
	Harman International Industries
Worker Ownership	Plywood Producer Cooperatives in the U.S. Northwest
Worker Control	International Group Plans
	Collectives

Labor-Management Committees: The Norwegian Industrial Democratization Project (Emery and Thorsrud, 1976; Wilson, 1974, Chapter 17) began in the late sixties under the sponsorship of the Trade Unions Council and National Federation of Employers, with the assistance of a team of research consultants. The project included four field sites, of which the Norsk Hydro Fertilizer plant was particularly successful. In 1967, a new 5,000-employee fertilizer factory was to be set up and the new President of Norsk Hydro, as well as leading shop stewards, were committed to initiating some form of worker self-management system. With worker input, a team of consultants prepared design proposals for the new work and management systems:

> The basic idea of the model was to provide conditions for increased self-sufficiency and autonomy at the group level and better opportunities for learning and work satisfaction for individual group members (Emery and Thorsrud, 1976, p. 103).

The factory opened with an emphasis on decentralized responsibility and decision-making at the work-group level; within this general structure, workers themselves evolved a unique self-management system. The Norsk Hydro plant was built with physically separate areas for different work groups; in contrast to previous practice, each group had one

member with maintenance skills as a means to increase its autonomy. In fact, each group assumed responsibility for all tasks in its area, including cleaning. Under this arrangement, group members required a variety of skills, so training and education programs were made available. Also, status and pay differences were decided according to proven competence, and bonuses were based on factors workers could control, such as minimal wastage. With a non-competitive salary-scale, workers willingly rotated jobs and helped one another develop skills. The job rotations also included assignment to the plant control headquarters, which demystified this nerve center of the plant and further reduced status differences.

Representatives of workers and management jointly shaped all these decisions, though reports on the experiment do not clarify the exact process by which they interacted, (i.e., through a generally elected council, a committee of representatives from each work group, or some other form). But the individual work groups were clearly responsible for production, decision-making, care-taking, and worker development in their own areas. An attitude survey conducted by the consultant team showed high levels of satisfaction and feelings of security amongst workers; plant down time varied between 5-10%, whereas the average is 10-30% for comparable industries.

Based upon his experience as one of the project consultants, Frederick Emery developed a "participative" redesign workshop process to give workers and management greater control over the actual design of a self-management experiment. In the two to three day workshop, participants basically identify, analyze, and plan for solving problems

on their own. The process moves through five steps: discussion of human needs in work; analysis of how work is presently done; analysis of how this falls short of the identified human needs; creation of a redesign for work and management processes; and development of a plan for implementation. Ideas from the Norwegian project later proved to be useful to planners of the first and most comprehensive labor-management committee experiment in the U.S.

In the small town of Bolivar, Tennessee, the Harman International automobile mirror factory, employed about 1,000 workers, was run down, disorganized, and the source of strong worker dissatisfaction in 1973. Recognizing the plant's problems and sharing a committment to workplace democratization, the former president of the firm and a vice-president of the United Auto Workers (UAW) initiated a work improvement program (Duckles, 1977; Maccoby, 1975; Zwerdling, 1978). They began by hiring a consultant team from the Harvard Project on Technology, Work, and Character and by establishing that the purpose of the reforms would not be to increase productivity, but to improve employee satisfaction and benefits.

Over the summer of 1973, the project took shape. The consultants conducted a survey of worker and management attitudes related to company problems. Also, a union-management structure was set up to oversee the project: a national level "advisory committee" and a factory "working committee" of five workers and five managers. The working committee and consultants next defined four overall principles to guide the project: security, equity, democracy, and individuation. With the four principles in mind, the committee began to attack problems

identified in the survey, such as traffic jams in the parking lot. However, a seminar in early 1974 by Einor Thorsrud of the Norwegian project shifted the focus of the program.

From Thorsrud's seminar, the working committee became acquainted with "shopfloor committees" in which workers and managers jointly solve problems and make decisions related to their work life. When the Committee initiated the shopfloor experiments in several departments, the workers were at first suspicious and hostile, and the managers were resistant. However, after several months of operation, all the experimental groups had become active in making changes in their work areas. Group I changed certain aspects of its production process and allowed workers to go home early if they met their production quota ("bonus time"); Group II decided to share job responsibility and keep its own production records; and Group III set and achieved eight objectives, including use of free time to learn new skills and making the workplace more attractive.

Successes of the shopfloor committees in three departments, and the bonus time system which evolved, catalyzed a general interest in the project. In 1975, eighty-one percent of the workers voted in favor of instituting shopfloor committees throughout the factory. Following this decision, these labor-management committees became responsible for all changes in their own areas. The committees, with the input of all workers through general meetings, make proposals to the working committee which either concurs or negotiates a compromise. However, "none of the changes have been imposed by top union officials

or management. The shop floor employees have initiated virtually all changes on their own" (Zwerdling, 1978, p. 42). The worker-initiated changes have included: job sharing, factory beautification, an inplant school, a lively newspaper, and a community daycare center.

In 1977, the plant was sold to new ownership, so the future of the autonomous work groups is uncertain. However, consultants noted the significance of the changes in workers' behavior during the program's three and a half years of existence:

> Employees, the consultants say, have learned much about analyzing problems and proposing solutions on their own initiative, and making decisions in groups--and they have learned that changes are possible. These skills more than any single change, are perhaps the main accomplishments of the Harman management-union experiment (Zwerdling, 1978, pp. 51-52).

Over the course of a few years, the existence of union-management shopfloor committees exercising considerable decision-making power brought dramatic changes in workplace conditions and in worker behavior at Harman's Bolivar plant. The next example to be considered represents another form of self-management: employee ownership. In this form, workers have more power over decisions on policy and the distribution of profits than in the union-management structure. Ironically, however, they often have less power over their immediate work situations.

Worker Ownership. In the Pacific Northwest, a major portion of the U.S. plywood industry operates as producer cooperatives (Bellas, 1972; Bernstein, 1974; Zwerdling, 1978). Scandinavian immigrants opened the first cooperative mill in the 1920's; today sixteen out of an original thirty are still in business.

In general, all the producer coops have the same worker owner-

ship structure. Each worker holds one working share in the company (a share originally cost $1,000 and now is valued at about $50,000) which entitles him/her to: hold a job over a non-shareholder, one vote in corporate affairs, and an equal share in annual profits. Individual companies are governed by a board of directors, elected by and from amongst the worker owners. The board meets twice a month in open sessions and is responsible for general company policy and any expenditures under $25,000; purchases over this amount must be approved by the entire membership.

In addition to this formal representative structure, the relatively small size of most coops (between three and four hundred worker-owners), enables further access to decision-making:

> Worker power in plywood coops, like in any corporation, is often measured not by formal board meetings nor by votes taken, but by the informal power of workers to influence the board of directors and manager's decisions. In many factories, the members exert enormous power over the board of directors, partly because they work side-by-side on the job (Zwerdling, 1978, p. 93).

Compared to their influence over general company policy, worker-owners tend to have less power in day-to-day company management. Coops are each run by a non-shareholding manager hired by the board. Since the manager is in the unusual position of being hired/fired by the worker-owners and of supervising them, an inherent conflict exists:

> Workers feel constant tension between delegating enough authority to the manager to allow him to make creative and effective decisions, while not surrendering too much authority to the manager and in effect abdicating their cooperative power. In the same vein, workers face constant tension between challenging the manager's decisions in a constructive and creative way, to protect their best interests, while not challenging the manager so relentlessly that he [she] feels imprisoned and paralyzed to act (Zwerdling, 1978, p. 94).

Depending on how the workers and managers resolve the conflict described above, the worker-owners' power over actual management ranges from considerable to almost nil.

Some coop worker-owners complain that not enough of their members care about and participate in mill management. All share in the coops plentiful benefits--flexible time off, free lunches, free medical care--but sometimes less than half of the worker-owners are active in self-management. However, such a ratio of active and less-active members is fairly typical for democratic institutions. And, as long as enough worker-owners continue to share the following attitude, the coops will probably manage to flourish. As expressed by a member of one mill:

> It's like my garden at home. I sure get a kick out of planting it, and taking care of it--and watching it grow (Zwerdling, 1978, p. 100).

The third form of self-management to be considered here, worker control, represents a higher level of worker empowering than exists in the labor-management committee or worker-ownership systems. Under worker control, workers both own all or part of an organization and manage it as well.

Worker control. International Group Plans (IGP), a sixty million dollar group health insurance company in Washington, D.C., has been called the "most extensive experiment in workers' self-management in the US" (Zwerdling, 1978, p. 114). The company's 340 mostly middle and lower-income workers own half the corporation, elect half the board of directors by popular vote, and manage most of the company's operation through an elaborate system of committees.

In 1964, IGP was begun as a traditional company by the current president. However, with a background in the anti-war and anti-poverty movements, he gradually developed a vision of the company as a vehicle for social change. Today, IGP's president describes the company as follows:

> What I've done is create the first corporate power structure in this country which the employees have the power to change as they want. 'I'm not talking about anything short of a total revolution (Zwerdling, 1978, p. 116).

The IGP "revolution" was initiated in 1972 when the company president transferred half the ownership to the employees in a non-saleable profit-sharing trust, empowered them to elect half the board of directors, and established the committee system through which corporate decisions are still made today.

Since 1972, the company has tried a variety of actual decision-making structures. As of early 1978, the structure had evolved to include a complex network of representative committees and a community relations assembly or workers' congress. Although some overlap exists, for the most part, the committees are responsible for actual company management while the assembly formulates policy, which in turn must be reviewed and approved by a corporate operating committee and ultimately, by the board of directors.

Within this structure, workers have considerable power. At the worker team or task group level, members are almost completely responsible for organizing and managing their day-to-day work and for hiring and firing. For example, file clerks met one morning and voted to revamp the central files system, a decision they have the power to

implement. Representatives from worker teams serve on department committees and representatives of the department committees serve on division committees. The department and division groups focus on broader decisions such as staffing levels and long-term objectives. Another committee, the personal justice committee or elected workers' court, makes final decisions on disputes related to pay, promotions, and leave policy.

Ideally, the committee structure does not function as a hierarchy. Coordinators of the department and division committees are mandated to carry out decisions, not to give orders, and to act as leaders, not managers. However, IGP employees admit that the necessary skills for the leader role--business knowledge and democratic behaviors--are hard to find.

The community relations assembly, on which more than forty percent of the workers have sat, determines major company policy. Over the years, the Assembly: established a flexible hours/no attendance record system; created an open office lay-out; set a $10,600 minimum wage and the equal sharing of annual profits; and developed a liberal sick leave policy. The Assembly's policies have never been turned down by the corporate operating committee or the board, though sometimes renegotiated.

Compared to employees in the other self-management experiments reviewed, the IGP workers appear to have stronger feelings about their experience and stronger ideas about the problems involved. Perhaps this can be attributed to the fact that the IGP experiment is more extensive than the others and that the expectations for real worker

control are higher. At IGP today, some employees criticize the structure and the president for allowing only limited worker power; others "can't stand the confusion anymore" and the time required for committee meetings (Zwerdling, 1978, p. 114).

All tend to agree, however, that some of their feelings are rooted in a lack of experience and lack of skills required for working cooperatively and democratically. Some managers resist giving up their traditional powers and some workers don't know how to assert their newly obtained powers. One woman commented, "At Bell Telephone, we had to raise our hands just to ask permission to go to the bathroom" (Zwerdling, 1978, p. 123). The transition from the restrictions at Bell, or any other traditional firm, to the freedom at IGP requires guidance and training.

Despite their feelings of dissatisfaction and frustration, many IGP workers seem to agree with the statement of one staff researcher:

> 'We do bitch and complain an awful lot. But it's like complaining about your own family. Deep down you really care what happens to them and love them. The truth is IGP is the best thing that ever happened to me, so amazing that I feel trapped here. I'm trapped because I couldn't ever go back to a normal job again' (Zwerdling, 1978, p. 130).

IGP does represent an impressive achievement: the large company operates with considerable freedom, democracy, and equality; earns sufficient profits to stay in business; and provides noteworthy benefits to its employees.

Collectives (Zwerdling, 1978), another form of worker controlled organization, share some of the same problems as IGP though differ in

philosophy. Collectives are usually fairly small in scale and sell products such as records or food, or services such as legal assistance or health care. But collectives are distinguished more by why and how they operate than by what they offer. According to Vocations for Social Change, which promotes collectives in the U.S., collective members typically believe that:

> . . . collectives do not exist primarily to sell their specific products, or even primarily to provide its members with a livelihood. They exist to promote and serve as a model for radical social and political change (Zwerdling, 1978, p. 78).

The change sought by collectives is an alternative to the centralized profit-oriented production systems in the U.S. Toward this end, most collectives are anti-profit and emphasize non-exploitative human relationships. Paid staff members usually accept subsistence-level salaries, and volunteers often donate time to the organization as well. Collectives are also committed to the equal sharing of power amongst members, which includes task rotation and a strong emphasis on consensus decision-making.

However, similar to the situation at IGP, members of many collectives stress that they do not really know how to function democratically. Organizations such as Vocations for Social Change have begun to turn their attention to defining the needed skills and how they can be developed. Collectives often also experience the difficulties of limited capital and worker "burn out," i.e., exhaustion and attrition due to low salaries, long working hours, and limited benefits. If the challenges of inadequate skills for decision-making, limited capital, and burn-out can be confronted, however, collectives may offer a

stronger model for worker empowering, at least for small organizations, than the others reviewed in this section.

The preceding pages have examined experiments to equalize power in business and industry: labor-management quality of work life committees, worker ownership, and worker control. The next section will look at worker empowering in another context: human service settings.

Collaboration

"Collaboration" does not yet have its own separate literature; in fact, the concept is still in the process of definition. A major contribution toward this end is a special issue of the Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, "Collaboration in Work Settings (Appley and Winder, eds., 1977). The issue begins with a discussion of the importance and meaning of collaboration and then presents ten case studies (some of which also look at industrial settings). Most of the material in this section draws upon this source.

The growing interest in collaborative, rather than competitive or hierarchical/dominating work relationships arises out of two of the major themes of our age: the recognized complexity of world problems and interdependence of the world's peoples; and the striving for liberation, by nations and by disadvantaged groups within nations. With such themes in mind, collaboration has been defined as a relational system in which:

1) individuals in a group share mutual aspirations and a common conceptual framework;

2) the interactions among individuals are characterized by 'justice as fairness';

3) and these aspirations and conceptions are characterized by each individual's consciousness of his/her motives toward the other; by caring or concern for the other; and by commitment to work with the other over time provided that this commitment is a matter of choice (Appley and Winder, 1977, p. 281).

In their definition, Appley and Winder view consciousness and choice as necessary for establishing collaboration, and caring and commitment as crucial to maintaining it:

> Caring and its concomitant, commitment, become the dynamic counterweights to the exploitative forces in the relational system (p. 286).

While these factors are undoubtably important, they do not adequately deal with the dynamics which may exist in an unequal power relationship. External political and economic forces, as well as internal conditioning (i.e., our past learning and socialization) can interfere with the best intentioned caring and commitment. Adam Curle addressed this issue in an analogous situation, "making peace" between two disputing and unequal parties (Curle, 1971, Introduction & Chapter 15). In Curle's view, power must be equalized before negotiations can lead to real peace. Perhaps a definition of collaboration must also recognize the need for this "balance of power" to exist before real mutuality and fairness can develop in a work relationship.

The review which follows of some actual attempts at collaboration may shed some light on this issue as well as on other aspects of this strategy for empowering. Unlike the examples of community organization and self-management, those of collaboration are more fledgling and thus

only nominally successful. But, as the adage goes, we can learn as much (if not more) from failure as from success.

The "Network," a publicly-supported non-profit consultant organization serving schools and other service projects nationwide, was begun in 1970 by a man with a strong commitment to collaborative organization (Crandall, 1977). Thus, when Network was founded, it adopted a non-hierarchical structure and consensual decision-making process for all decisions, including who was best qualified for a particular task. Outside pressures, however, inhibited the full functioning of this structure from the outset. Network depends on grant and contract funding, and in its early years, the organization had only enough money to support the Director (Crandall) and three staff members. In 1974, a second contract expanded Network to about ten members, with the previous three serving as a sort of kitchen cabinet to the Director; "This kitchen cabinet collaborated effectively on a range of matters. The staff as a whole, however, was not provided with much opportunity to influence primary directions" (p. 342).

Then, between 1976-76, the staff grew by another fifty percent and became organized according to their involvement with individual projects. Network instituted a "management team" as a cross-project vehicle for solving problems collaboratively. However, this structure did not function as an effective means for collaboration; Crandall discussed the reasons for this lack of effectiveness.

First, the Director attributed problems to his abstract, cloudy vision of a collaborative organization. "Ownership" was another problem. As Network grew in size, budget, geographic area served, and

demands on staff time, the opportunities for working together decreased and the staff was never clear about whether they or the Director actually "were" Network. The Director instituted an "interactive agenda building system" in which staff members took major responsibility for planning and running regular meetings. However, staff members still saw these as the Director's meetings, and the focus seldom went beyond mere reporting on project progress. "In retrospect, it seems that we were trying to use a structure established as a vehicle for collaboration for a task (reporting on project status) for which collaboration was not necessary" (Crandall, 1977, p. 344). Based on this realization, the meetings gradually shifted to a collective consideration of Network's future.

Another problem concerned the "reward system." Whereas collaboration seem to demand interdependence, Network's operational structure rewarded autonomous, independent functioning. Crandall also recognized that the staff had had no opportunity to learn collaboration; he had assumed everyone "could do it" and therefore people were afraid to admit their uncertainties. Lastly, there was the "Chief Honcho" syndrome; since Crandall viewed himself as an "executive of last resort", he and his staff were never really sure of the degree of collaboration expected, and accepted.

From these insights, Crandall reassessed his understanding of collaboration and proposed three general requisites for a collaborative relationship: adequate collaborative competency (including commitment to the task, organization, and individuals involved; demonstrated interdependence; and a wide repertoire of problem-solving skills); substantive

expertise in a content area; and organizational norms and sanctions which support collaboration. Crandall also offered a general definition of collaboration:

> The process of working together to solve problems and act on the solutions under circumstances where all parties believe that a mutually agreeable solution is possible and that the quality of its implementation, as well as the level of satisfaction they will experience, will be improved by virtue of engaging in the process (Crandall, 1977, p. 348).

At the Department of Education, Herbert H. Lehman College of the City University of New York, five women faculty members designed and implemented a two-year experimental program to attempt to combat racism and its effects (Donleavy and Pugh, 1977). The "Eureka-Unitive Education" teacher preparation program was initiated by two black and three white women who hoped to "forge new relationships between blacks and whites and among women" (p. 361).

From the outset, the women believed that their way of relating and working together was essential to the success and survival of the team and the program. "Leadership was conceived of as shared, decentralized, rotating and dependent on the tasks to be performed or the nature of the activities in programs" (p. 361). With this commitment, the women began with an extensive team building and planning process. For an entire spring semester, they held weekly meetings at one another's homes, which included considerable personal sharing ("their collaboration was predicated on trust, caring, and support for one another as worthwhile human beings"--p. 362) as well as laying out the design of their project.

In Fall 1972, the Eureka program got underway, with an enrollment of 120 black, Spanish-speaking, and white students. The program was based on participatory processes and the students' own life experiences. Students formed into groups to identify their questions and needs; they were encouraged to explore their questions through a variety of workshops, field placements, and other learning activities. According to two of the women who worked with the project, collaboration was at its highest during the phases of planning and initial implementation; both planners and students were enthusiastic, and

> Some of the aspects of collaboration were taken for granted because of a shared conviction that the mission of the program was important, moral, worthwhile, and necessary for the effective education of teachers. Traditional time allotments were forgotten. Team members came early, stayed late, and jumped at the opportunity to do whatever needed to be done: moving furniture, decorating rooms, and consulting and working with students (Donleavy and Pugh, 1977, p. 364).

However, as the program moved into the issue of combatting racism, a rift developed between those who wanted to confront societal manifestations of racism (activism) vs. those who wanted to deal with racism in the arts and media (awareness). This difference, and the array of negative feelings it generated, grew and also caused divisions amongst the students. Eventually, the composition of the student group became mostly non-white and three team members "colluded" to change the program into an "ethnic-based learning model" based on the three separate student groups. White students were quite dissatisfied with this approach, while the blacks and Spanish-speaking found meaning in the opportunity. However,

> In general, during this phase the moral of the facilitators and students was at a low point and the feelings expressed ranged from anger, isolation, and rejection to disappointment and impotence (Donleavy and Pugh, 1977, p. 367).

Though the project continued, the women no longer collaborated, but only cooperated, i.e., they lacked a joint moral, ideological, and emotional commitment to their effort. In analyzing why this occurred, the authors pointed to the effect of racism on their own team relationships and interactions. The team had never dealt with the issue of racism amongst its members nor with the different experience of racism for blacks and whites in U.S. society:

> At some point they [the black women] had to grapple with the question of whether they saw the white women as reflective of the dominant culture or as whites who had moved into anti-racist stances and behaviors. The white women, on the other hand, were unaware of this dilemma. Their understanding of racism was primarily theoretical. . . . One example of this discrepancy between the intellectual and emotional apperceptions of racism was that all the white women on the team attempted to withdraw from the program at some point. The two black women, although at odds over solutions, never expressed any desire to withdraw. As they expressed it, they felt the program was critical in terms of 'life and death issues faced on a daily basis by non-whites' (Donleavy and Pugh, 1977, p. 368).

The two team members ended their discussion with a list of eleven things "we would do differently today;" a few are included here:

--Collaboration would be viewed as a developmental process. Since the stages and phases in the process are not clear, an attempt would be made to define these stages and to develop appropriate coping strategies.

--The collaborative process would be made more concrete by determining the factors which help and those which hinder the collaborative efforts.

--Close attention would be given to early warning signs that suggest dysfunction in the collaborative process.

--Racism would be considered as a constant throughout the endeavor.

--Provision would be made to ensure ample dialogue across ethnic lines as part of an on-going process, not left to chance (Donleavy and Pugh, 1977, p. 371)

The Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) is a private international development agency committed to collaboration among its staff as well as its benecifiaries (Lucas et al., 1977). Similar to the U.S. Peace Corps, CUSO has volunteers in over fifty countries, working in areas such as education, agriculture, community development, and health. However, unlike the Peace Corps, CUSO encourages a higher degree of host national involvement and control, and also promotes an understanding of development issues within Canada.

In 1970, CUSO assessed its operations and made four changes: the adoption of a project approach; decentralization of program decision-making to each of the six overseas regions; initiation of a development education program in Canada; and preparation of a Development Charter to guide policy decisions. These changes strengthened CUSO's commitment to collaboration, defined as:

> a process in which the goals and procedures of a cooperative enterprise are understood, and to some extent, shared by the cooperators. There is an assumption that the process is non-competitive, that decisions are made through consultation, and on the merits of the functions to be performed rather than on the basis of hierarchical roles (Lucas et al., 1977, pp. 401-2).

CUSO attempts to implement this process among all the parts of its network: the Ottawa Secretariat; the 65 CUSO committees in English-speaking Canada; the Canadian SUCO (Francophone) groups; overseas staff and volunteers; and host nationals.

One example of collaboration within CUSO involved an attempt to change the focus of health programs in the field. In the Ottawa Secretariat, the Human Resources Division is designed to support and respond to the needs of the overseas programs and includes four functional groups, each a non-hierarchical team of three members. In order to re-orient the CUSO health program to the new Development Charter and the WHO definition of health, the Health team decided that health projects should be primarily preventative and community-based. The team began its collaborative change effort at the January 1975 annual Inter-regional Meeting, where it circulated a background paper to field staff and presented its concerns orally. This approach was minimally successful because: "a) the 'problems' concerning the relevancy and goals of our health programs were identified by the Health team and not necessarily felt by the overseas staff, and b) the staff who took part in the meeting were not directly responsible for program development" (Lucas et al., 1977, p. 405).

Next, team members visited various regions to promote further dialogue; however, most field staff were not receptive to changes proposed by individuals they perceived as outsiders. Then, the team decided to provide more substantive training for new field staff. This approach may have been effective, though slow. At the 1976 Inter-regional meeting, the team raised its concerns again and proposed a demonstration project. The resolution was accepted in principle and put into action in Central Africa by a new field staff member and one member of the Health team. This three month project proved quite

successful and brought requests for assistance from other field staffs, as well as led to another demonstration project in the Caribbean.

The authors who described this attempt at collaboration did not include in their article an analysis of what happened. They merely concluded that: "overall, the interventions of this professional team have resulted in clearer guidelines for all regions and their health programs" (Lucas et al., 1977, p. 407). This misses the point. The team made a number of different interventions: presentation of their analysis and proposed solution; visits to field offices; fieldstaff training; and the demonstration project. Of the four, only the last was really successful. Unlike the other three interventions, the demonstration project included individuals with a commitment to common ideas and goals and did not involve an imposition of one person's ideas on another. Mutuality in task or project analysis and design, as well as in implementation, is critical to a truly collaborative relationship.

In the three examples of collaboration discussed here, the issue of the "balance of power" raised earlier in this section does seem to be an "important consideration" for developing collaborative relationships. In the "Network", the Executive Director was ambivalent about sharing his power and collaboration foundered; racism, as a part of the unequal distribution of power in U.S. society, interfered with collaboration in the Eureka-Unitive Education Project. And, in the CUSO Health team's efforts, collaboration worked only when the people involved had equal power and commitment. Thus attempts at collaboration must take this dynamic in to account.

Summary of Characteristics of Workplace Democratization

The review in this section has enabled us to identify the major characteristics of worker-management and collaboration, efforts to equalize or share power in work relationships. These strategies:

--emphasize factory or organizational structures which support worker control such as: decentralized responsibility and decision-making;

--involve workers in designing and implementing changes for their own work situations;

--reduce status differences and hierarchical relationships;

--involve the sharing of roles, responsibility, and leadership;

--require "consciousness, caring, commitment, and choice;" fairly equal power relationships; and mutuality;

--usually involve autonomous but interdependent work groups and/or representative councils;

--encourage peer learning and support networks;

--cast supervisors in the roles of coordinators, facilitators and resource persons;

--use democratic procedures and/or consensus decisionmaking;

--and recognize that "worker control" evolves through a developmental process, which requires the growth of new attitudes and competencies.

Considerations for Effectiveness: As in the previous discussion on community organization, the review on equalizing power in work relationships points to a number of factors which appear important to success, particularly: the commitment of managers to sharing power and the need for education for self-management and collaboration.

1) Commitment of managers to sharing power: In all the experiments reviewed in this section, the commitment of supervisors to

the value and importance of worker control was significant. In the self-management projects, all fairly successful, managers as well as owners generally were committed to the idea of sharing power. In the attempts at collaboration, the ambivalence or lack of commitment of managers hindered both the quality and quantity of worker control which developed.

2) The need for education for self-management and collaboration: Jaroslav Vanek, one of the leading conceptualizers in the field of workplace democratization, stated:

> Education, and more generally the transformation of the human consciousness, is the precondition and the very lifeblood of any successful and lasting effort to bring about self management and economic democracy (Vanek, 1977, p. 15).

The examples reviewed above demonstrate the validity of Vanek's statement. Members of the International Group Plans company, of collectives, of Network, and of the Eureka-Unitive Education project all recognized problems which related to their own lack of skills in cooperation and democratic decision-making:

> . . . the habit of working in traditional hierarchical institutions is difficult to break because virtually all American institutions--families, churches, schools, and government bureaucracies, as well as businesses, are directed from the top down (Brous, 1977, pp. 5-6).

To confront old habits, IGP has introduced a comprehensive training program which includes: seminars on the history and philosophy of self-management; discussion meetings on committee self-management problems; and concrete skills training in group discussion, decision-making, and leadership. Vocations for Social Change in Boston has prepared materials on consensus decision-making and the New School for

Democratic Management in San Francisco holds workshops on running democratic businesses.

In addition, models for education for self-management have been developed by Vanek and Salinas. Vanek's model (1977) is based on five principles, summarized as follows: a) identity--basing learning on actual self-management experiences; b) proximity--locating training in the workplace; c) subordination--emphasizing the development of critical consciousness rather than mere skill training; d) pairing--using peer learning; and e) transparency--openly sharing information about the enterprise. Salinas' model (1977) grew out of a project with a farm workers' producer cooperative in California. It utilizes some of the educational ideas and processes of Paulo Freire (see "Education for Justice" below).

By implementing training programs such as those noted above, attempts at workplace democratization increase their potential for effectiveness.

Participatory Approaches: 'Clients' as Subject Not Objects

For some individuals in the helping professions, professions in which one person or group hopes to influence another person or group to change "for the better", "active participation" of the client or target group has become an increasingly dominant theme. As with the heightened interest in worker self-management and collaboration, the reasons for the emergence of this theme include both effectiveness and ethics.

"Helpers" have learned, through research findings and their own experiences, that people are more likely to change when they are involved in defining and implementing a particular change effort. People themselves best know what they need and what shape a change need take to fit their own context. Those who stand for "active participation" on ethical grounds believe that "clients", as human beings, should be subjects, not objects of any outside intervention and that outside interventions usually involve some form of domination.

This section will examine "active participation" movements in three fields: adult education; educational/social science research; and rural development. For the most part, each of these three fields is quite traditional in its approach. Generally, adult education still tends to be characterized by a packaged curriculum presented to learners; participation usually occurs only in classroom discussion. Research, largely because of concerns with "objectivity" and the mystique of the techniques employed, almost never involves those who are studied in conducting the study process. And rural development, in many cases, continues to depend upon change agents who "have the answers" and aim to convince the people.

Within each of these fields, however, attempts to promote "active participation" exist. As a strategy for empowering, participatory approaches enable people to exercise some control over planned change in their lives. Of course, the extent of this control may vary according to the degree and kind of participation involved. This variation has been conceptualized as a "ladder of participation:"

	Control
Degrees of Actual Power	Delegated Power
	Partnership
	Placation
Degrees of Tokenism	Consultation
	Informing
Non-Participation	Therapy
	Manipulation

Fig. 2: Ladder of Participation

(from Sherry R. Arnstein, "Eight Rungs on the Ladder of Citizen Participation," in Citizen Participation: Effecting Community Change, ed. Edgar S. Cahn and Barry A. Passett (New York: Praeger Pubs., 1971), p. 70.)

Beginning at the bottom of the ladder, "manipulation" and "therapy" are actually forms of non-participation, such as rubber stamp committees and programs to "cure" people. The next three levels represent differing degrees of tokenism, which allow people to hear and be heard: through public information meetings ("informing"); collecting opinions on proposed programs ("consultation"); and involving some individuals in formulating, but not deciding on, programs ("placation"); under these conditions, people lack the power to insure that their views will be heeded.

At the top of the ladder are three levels of real participation. In "partnership," certain individuals achieve an equal share of power with those who have previously been dominant; in "delegated power," they assume complete decision-making control over a portion of a program. And finally, with "control," people are in full charge of a program or activity, including its structure, resources, processes and personnel. The reviews in this section focus on these upper levels.

Adults Direct Their Own Learning

One of the major conceptualizers in the field of adult education, Malcolm Knowles, created a framework called "andragogy," the art and science of helping adults learn, which emphasizes considerable learner participation. Knowles' The Modern Practice of Adult Education--Andragogy vs. Pedagogy (1975) clearly identified the unique characteristics of adults as learners; then, based on these characteristics and educational implications related to them, he proposed a seven-step "andragogical process for developing educational programs or learning activities:"

1. The establishment of a climate conducive to adult learning;
2. The creation of an organizational structure for participative planning;
3. The diagnosis of needs for learning;
4. The formulation of directions of learning (objectives);
5. The development of a design of activities;
6. The operation of the activities; and
7. The rediagnosis of needs for learning (evaluation) (Knowles, 1975, p. 54).

Throughout all these steps, Knowles viewed participation of the learners as "essential":

> Every individual tends to feel committed to a decision (or an activity) to the extent that he [she] has participated in

> making it or planning it. . . . Accordingly, a basic element of the technology of andragogy is the involvement of the learners in the process of planning their own learning, with the teacher serving as procedural guide and content resource. . . . The function of planning, with which the remainder of this book is largely concerned, consists of translating diagnosed needs into specific educational objectives (or directions of growth), designing and conducting learning experiences to achieve these objectives and evaluating the extent to which these objectives have been accomplished. In andragogy, responsibility for performing this function is a mutual one between learner and teacher (Knowles, 1977, p. 42).

For Knowles, an important variable effecting the quantity and quality of learner participation is the teacher's attitudes towards the learners and his/her understanding of the non-traditional approach required. According to another useful source, A Trainer's Guide to Andragogy: Its Concepts, Experience, and Application (Ingalls, 1973), the overall role of the adult educator "is that of managing or guiding the andragogical process itself, rather than managing the 'content' of the learning as in traditional Pedagogy" (p. 11).

In Perspectives on Nonformal Adult Learning (1977), Lyra Srinivasan also discussed learner participation in contemporary adult education. Srinavasan's book summarizes the ideas of individuals who have influenced the development of adult learning strategies (including Illich, Freire, Carl Rogers, and Abraham Maslow), reviews three major approaches to adult learning (problem-solving; projective; and self-actualizing) and presents her own position. Though all the approaches discussed by Srinavasan include learner participation, only her "self-actualizing" approach emphasizes maximum participation. The approach is "learner-centered," "learner generated," and based on peer learning; in operation, the teacher or facilitator presents open-ended creative

materials which learners use to express and examine their own life experiences:

> Emphasis is on developing the learner's confidence, creativity, and communication abilities and on problem-solving based on subject matter drawn from the students' own lives (Srinavasan, 1977, p. 71).

As in Knowles' "andragogical process," the "self-actualizing" approach involves learners in all aspects of the educational process: planning, implementing, and evaluating. However, in Srinavasan's approach, there is no extended curriculum plan; each individual learning experience emerges from the immediate situation or from the learning experience before it. In other words, curriculum development is an on-going, rather than a completed-in-advance, activity.

Two good examples of participatory adult education are projects which were sponsored by World Education, Inc. (New York), the AIM project in the United States and the rural women's education project in the Philippines, representative of Srinavasan's "self-actualizing" approach.

AIM (World Education, 1977), "the Apperception Interaction Method," developed as an experiment to create more relevant, participatory learning materials and methods for adult learners in the U.S. In the project states (Alabama, California, Iowa, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, and Texas), the staff and local adult educators originated the basic material for the program: a four page folder with a provocative photo on the front and an open-ended story on the inside.

This material was designed as a projective technique, an ambiguous stimulus to catalyze learners to examine their lives. The numerous

folders created in the project were classified according to topical areas, such as alcohol/drugs; civic participation; consumerism; housing; public services; interpersonal relations, etc.; additional "underlying themes" included: "anger at social/racial injustice" or "desire to be loved." However, each folder is undefined enough to provoke different feelings and thoughts in different learners. Thus, the actual topic of a "lesson" depends on what emerges from a particular group. The picture on each folder does not necessarily illustrate the story inside, but serves to create a mood or evoke feelings. And the stories are open-ended, posing problems and issues without suggesting solutions.

The AIM materials are not sequenced, so that the teacher and learners are able to decide which are most interesting and appropriate for each session. In a session, learners first relate their own feelings and experiences to the cover photograph ("apperception"). During this phase, the teacher encourages reaction with questions that move from personal identification to generalization, and which stress emotional content: What do you see here? How do you feel about it? What is happening? What are the people like? What problems might they have? What caused these problems? What can be done about them? After reacting to the photograph, learners read the story in the folder and explore together the issues and problems it raises ("interaction").

To encourage discussion, the World Education publication offers a number of useful suggestions to teachers: create an informal atmosphere; ask provocative questions; create a situation where everyone wants to say something; remember that silence is a valuable part

of discussion; let students do most of the talking; let discussion go where it will, even off the topic; and remember--you don't have to teach anything specific. The purpose of AIM is also to encourage learners to take problem-solving action in their own lives. As a means to document such efforts and reinforce the leaners involved, the project designed a unique and simple evaluation tool, the AIM action card.

While the folders and methods developed in the AIM project enable considerable learner participation, AIM actually offers the potential for even more. The photo-story folders were originally created in a participatory materials development workshop for teachers, but the same workshop has been applied to a limited extent with learners. Using this process, learners can make their own feelings and life experiences the subject of each folder, by taking or finding a photograph and by writing or recording a story. Involvement in the actual development of materials, which in AIM is synonomous with curriculum development, would extend learner participation to all aspects of the learning process.

A high degree of learner participation also characterized the rural women's education project in the Philippines. The project, actually an action research study to test a number of hypotheses related to effective education for rural women, was carried out in cooperation with the Philippines Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM); a full report of the project is available from World Education (Crone, 1977). To develop the participatory, "self-actualizing" approach, World Education

and PRRM staff coordinated a two-week field technical workshop and follow-up field-testing of learning experiences.

In the workshop, thirty field-level personnel participated in a number of "awareness" exercises, gathered needs assessment data, and planned-implemented-evaluated a total of thirteen innovative learning processes with barrio women. According to Srinavasan (1977), the workshop was based on the "take over" principle, i.e., learners were encouraged to take major responsibility for their own learning and trainers served mainly as process facilitators. As a training process, "taking over" also provided workshop participants with the opportunity to experience some of the processes and relationships they were expected to initiate with barrio women; Srinavasan called this "internal consistency:"

> By internal consistency, in this context, I mean that the training of trainers, or for that matter, the orientation of curriculum planners, must conform to the same principles of participation that are to be applied at the village level (Srinavasan, 1977, p. 60).

After participating in a number of "process sensitizing" exercises and experiencing a variety of participatory learning materials, participants divided into three teams to work in three different barrios. The teams also included two women from each barrio, called "front-liners". The original purpose for including these women was to facilitate communication between the teams and barrio women, but in practice, they played an active role in developing the learning experiences. As the first step in the design process, each team made a familiarization visit (observation and interviews) to its assigned barrio, to extend or

correct the information previously compiled by researchers in a formal baseline survey. Using their updated information, the teams designed learning experiences for their target barrios. All the learning experiences included content related to income-producing activities, but teams differed in the extent to which specific topics were planned in advance.

Team A made its first learning experience a decision-making activity, out of which the topics for the subsequent sessions were identified (fuller description follows in the next paragraph). Team B planned its three sessions on three different topics (pig diseases; dress making; and budgeting); and Team C developed a sequence of experiences focusing on the identification, prevention, and cure of pig diseases. These experiences utilized expressive, participatory materials (such as simple games; moveable flannelboard figures--"flexiflans"; and serialized posters) and were held at a time and place decided upon by the barrio women.

As noted above, one team centered the first learning experience on decision-making about an economic activity. Team members helped the women to recall the problems they had expressed previously, using 'flexiflans' and tape recordings made during the familiarization visit. The presentation lead the women to discuss and identify income-producing activities that interested them. Then, with a leader selected from amongst themselves, the women voted for their preference by placing colored ballots on the flannelboard next to a representation of each activity. The women agreed they would like to learn more about pig-raising, and their subsequent learning experiences dealt with different aspects of this topic.

A learning experience designed by another team not only encouraged participation, but also enabled barrio women to interact in a "non-hierarchical" way with a local expert. In the session, which concerned pig diseases, women matched pictures of pigs having symptoms of various diseases to cards or pictures of cures:

> Lively debate and laughter ensued as the women argued about which one worked and which did not. After the learning group had more or less agreed on the 'correct' cures, a livestock technician (who had been asked to attend by the workshop team) stepped into the group, rearranged and added cure cards to display the correct cures. . . . The women eagerly asked questions; even after the learning session was over some were reluctant to leave; many remained to ask additional questions of the technician (Crone, 1977, p. 8).

Based on an analysis of these try-outs and their evaluations (including learner attendance and participation figures), World Education staff proposed four recommendations, all emphasizing maximum learner participation:

1. Learning activities be focused on maximizing learner input at all stages of the educational process . . . ;
2. Content be based on the self-identified concerns of the learning group; curriculum be developed from one learning session to the next as learner interests expand and shift rather than an entire curriculum being designed at the beginning of the program . . . ;
3. There be flexibility in location and timing of learning sessions, as determined by the learners; and
4. Local women be selected and trained as paraprofessionals to participate in the entire curriculum development, implementation, and evaluation process (Crone, 1977, pp. 21-22).

These recommendations are currently being applied in World Education-sponsored demonstration projects in the Philippines and Kenya. The women's project discussed in this section, and the expected results of the current projects, are important because they provide evidence as to the value of participation in adult education and also define methods

which promote participation. The use of expressive materials, discussion, problem-posing, and a non-planned/emergent curriculum enables learners to exercise considerable control over what and how they want to learn.

Research as a Dialogical Process

In recent years, traditional social science research methods have come under attack. The myth of objectivity has been seriously questioned, if not yet exploded, and the exploitative tendency of traditional research has been revealed. Since old and rewarded (professional acclaim; funding) behavior is hard to overcome and since only a few general alternatives have been developed (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Filstead, 1970), the voices calling for research reform are not many. However, those that exist are becoming stronger and clearer.

The Participatory Research Project (International Council for Adult Education, Toronto), in particular, includes a core of individuals interested in participatory research and who have begun a network for others who share their concerns. One of these individuals, Budd Hall, proposed a number of principles for participatory research:

1. Research methods have ideological implications.
2. A research process should be of some immediate and direct benefit to a community and not merely the basis for an academic paper.
3. A research process should involve a community or population in the entire research project from the formulation of the problem to discussion of how to seek solutions and interpretation of the findings.
4. If the goal of research is change, then the research team should be composed of representatives of all elements in the situation that have a bearing on the change.

5. The research process should be seen as part of a total educational experience which serves to establish community needs, and increase awareness and commitment within the community.

6. The research process should be viewed as a dialectic process, a dialogue over time and not as a static picture from one point in time.

7. The object of the research process, like the object of the educational process, should be the liberation of human creative potential and the mobilization of human resources for the solution of social problems (Hall, 1975, p. 28).

Hall's principles suggest a new orientation for research and are only now being translated into practical research strategies. Relevant models have been proposed by George Allo and Robert Caillot.

Allo's community study of its values and value crises is a means to aid people in assessing the desirability of alternative change strategies (in Goulet, 1971). In the model, an outside researcher develops an initial community value profile through discussions with "natural leaders." The next phase involves "systematic observation" through which the researcher expands the profile developed from community members. Then, a research team, including a number of community members, meets to critically examine and revise the profile; finally, it is resubmitted to the community members involved in the first phase for their reactions and suggestions.

Allo's model enables certain community members to participate with researchers on a not-quite-equal basis through a process of dialogue. Although the researchers appear to play a somewhat dominant role,

> The research team never arrogates to itself the right to interpret the problems of the native populace, which holds the final veto over the value synthesis elaborated. This synthesis delineates existing value constellations,

> interprets the significance of challenges posed (or proposed) to the constellations, and explores alternatives in terms of probable futures (Goulet, 1971, p. 222).

The model does not address who is involved in the initiation of the participatory research study, nor how the results of this type of study can be applied. Also, the subject of the study, "values," is determined at the outset and may be too abstract a concept for motivating community involvement. However, the process of a dialogue between an individual immersed in his/her community and an outsider with a fresh perspective offers interesting possibilities for more fully participatory research strategies.

French developer Robert Caillot also devised a strategy which emphasizes dialogue, a participation survey to involve communities in analyzing their problems and considering alternative action (in Goulet, 1975, pp. 161-64). To begin the survey process, the researcher initiates discussion about development issues and projects in a public forum. It is not clear who is involved in this forum or how it is conducted, but after the presentation, people are invited to consider what can be done to improve their present conditions. Once people have started to think about possibilities, they can be asked to help conduct a survey "whose purpose is to discover, in detail and quantifiable form, their problems and possible solutions" (Goulet, 1975, p. 164). During the process,

> The expert's role consists in supplying broad information, posing problems, eliciting critical reflection and accurate observation, and coordinating the work of numerous multi-disciplinary teams. Quite apart from stimulating cooperation between experts and people, the method encourages collaboration of different sub-groups among the people themselves. Its originality consists in transforming study and discussion groups

> into action groups. . . . The survey is seen primarily as a mechanism whereby the populace becomes its own leading problem-solver (Goulet, 1975, pp. 162-64).

Many aspects of Caillot's model were not adequately spelled out in Goulet's presentation, such as the role of local leaders, the specific instruments used, and necessary prerequisites (e.g., a literate population-?). However, the general formula of study groups transformed to community action groups suggests a useful framework for a research strategy consistent with Hall's principles.

Both the Allo and Caillot approaches emphasize the creation of knowledge through community dialogue. Byram et al. documented several means by which this dialogue can occur, including: public meetings; study teams working as part of a local committee; individual interviews with feedback for group decision-making; group interviews; seminars; visual documentation; and drama or cultural festivals (1978, pp. 15-16). The authors also described a project in which some of these methods actually are being utilized.

Since July 1977, members of the Participatory Research Project and the Band Council of Big Trout Lake (a Cree Indian community of 500 in northern Canada) have been cooperatively developing a project to assess the impact of a proposed sewage system. The million-dollar proposed sewage system, planned without the input of Lake-area residents, was to be installed in 1976, primarily to serve government buildings. However, the Band Council questioned the provision of services only to government buildings and also feared the impact of the system on the lake and lake wildlife. Therefore, the Council demanded an environmental assessment.

To conduct the study, a number of experts (e.g., sanitary engineer; marine biologist; participatory research specialist) and community members will function as an Assessment Committee. However, the Committee itself will not gather all required information, but train community members in specific tasks and coordinate their efforts. In addition,

> Tapes and slides of the research process will be made, with ownership rights going to the Band, so that the community will be able to share its expertise with other northern settlements. A local radio station will be used to raise issues during the community research phase. Public meetings, seminars, and group interviews, in addition to very specific technical research will be initiated by the Assessment Committee. During the writing of the report, a local person will help in the collective editing and writing, as well as in translation into the Native language. The report will be written in understandable language and will attempt to make all research accessible to community members through succinct appendices and drawings (Bryam et al., 1978, pp. 21-22).

The study by Bryam and his colleagues reviews other examples of rural efforts in participatory research, with a special emphasis on popular theatre as a technique. In all the cases presented, knowledge was generated by and for community members, based on a critical analysis of their own reality.

Development by Villagers

For the reasons already discussed in relation to adult education and research, many rural developers and development planners now advocate the participation of villagers not only in development benefits, but in development processes as well. Some of the leading work in examining and clarifying participation in rural development has been done at Cornell University, notably Cohen and Uphoff's Rural Development

Participation: Concepts for Measuring Participation for Project Design, Implementation and Evaluation (1977).

Cohen and Uphoff defined the "what" of participation to include four components: decision-making (initial and on-going); implementation; benefits and harmful consequences; and evaluation. For each of these components of participation, the authors constructed a matrix with "who is participating" across the top and "how/to what extent is the participation occurring" down the left-hand column. These matrices provide a simple and useful format for assessing participation in any rural development activity. Maintaining the emphasis of this chapter on a maximum degree of "client" participation, the projects reviewed in this section represent high levels of villager involvement in the four participation components identified by Cohen and Uphoff; however, it is difficult to find documented projects in which villagers actually hold major control.

The Aurangabad Experiment (El Bushra and Perl, 1976, pp. 15-21; Asian Trade Union College, undated) was sponsored by the Asian Trade Union College in New Delhi (India) to improve the living conditions of landless laborers in a number of states. In 1972, the project methodology was first tested in Aurangabad; following revision, it was implemented at several sites in and around Poona.

Basically, the experiment consisted of a two-week residential workshop for entire families, in which they learned about and experienced improved living conditions, as well as planned post-workshop cooperative self-help activities. Local union officials selected families which were: youthful; had some schooling; and represented a cross-section

of different castes and religions.

When families arrived at the workshop site, a mock village, they each were assigned a separate house. Husbands and wives, sharing the work, prepared morning and afternoon meals at home, while the evening meal was prepared communally and was followed by a cultural program. In the mornings, husbands and wives attended classes on subjects such as animal husbandry, kitchen gardening, literacy and numeracy, budgeting, nutrition, and principles of the cooperative movement, while children stayed in a day-care center. Afternoons focused on family planning, and some evenings included training in electrical wiring for the men and sewing for the women. However, more than classes, the new lifestyle which workshop participants experienced enabled them to realize the possibilities and potential for change:

> Sleeping on beds, cooking on gas stoves, using toilets and bathrooms, eating eggs, and other manifestations of modernity, were all new experiences for most of the villagers. More fundamental, however, were the changes in domestic and communal [in the Indian context, cross-caste and cross-religion] living. Expecting husbands to help their wives in domestic chores, providing kindergarten facilities for the children during the day, and accommodating each family in unaccustomed privacy--all these were deliberate steps intended to foster an atmosphere of family unity in which husbands and wives co-operated as equal partners. The communal evening meal and the daily division of participants into random groups for training sessions emphasized the need for people to drop rigid associations of caste and religion and to live and work together for the common good (El-Bushra and Perl, 1976, p. 17).

Following the Poona workshops, many families established new villages, "socio-economic growth centers," with bank loans and state government subsidies and land grants. In these villages, the families constructed their own homes and organized various income-producing cooperatives, including brick-making and a dairy; each year, residents

plan to recruit new families to expand the village.

Examining the Aurangabad Experiment approach, the landless families did not participate in decision-making about the initial design and content of the residential workshop. However, to some extent during, and particularly after the workshop, they completely directed their own development efforts. This project, then, represents an approach which began with an imposed structure, the experience of living and learning in a model village, and moved to an independently determined structure, establishment of the new villages and cooperative societies. To summarize, in this approach, landless laborers gradually assumed increasing degrees of responsibility and control as the experiment progressed.

In Bangladesh, BRAC--The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee--has activated a range of rural development activities in the Sulla district (World Education, 1976). Originally concerned with rehabilitation assistance after the liberation war with West Pakistan, BRAC field workers stayed on in the villages to promote rural development. The field workers decided that they could help villagers to change only if they lived with the people and initiated activities of immediate benefit to them. BRAC's first development activities, therefore, included "kitchen gardens" grown as demonstrations by the field workers and an innovative paramedic program to diagnose and treat twelve common diseases. By use of pictures and color codes, this program enabled non-readers to serve as paramedics in their communities.

Over the next few years, BRAC workers have continued to work with villagers in many kinds of activities, from building community

centers to literacy education to a nutrition program, always employing approaches which enabled villagers to take major responsibility for the change involved. BRAC workers linked villagers with resources (such as UN Food-for-Work rice and grain) and provided the financial support needed by villagers to confront some of their most basic problems. In the village of Hazaripur, BRAC provided a loan to enable villagers to rent agricultural land, thus avoiding the necessity of men spending half the year working away from their families. This loan encouraged the village to establish a cooperative society, which eventually enabled them to save money and buy their own land.

In 1972, the BRAC staff left the Sulla district and moved on to another area; in a sense, BRAC workers believe it is their job to work themselves out of their job:

> At the heart of BRAC's philosophy is the expectation that the villagers will achieve a level of competence and be able to carry the program forward even after the original BRAC staff is no longer part of the local program (World Education, 1976, p. 3).

The "Community Education for Development" project, in the Mara region of Tanzania, was designed as a means to help realize the national goal of "self-reliance" (Vella, 1978). Though the project also could be classified as an example of "participatory adult education," it specifically aimed to involve villagers in planning and implementing their own development activities. The project consisted basically of a five-day seminar organized in over forty villages by two or three project staff. Through the Catholic church network, these individuals were invited to each village. For one week, living with a

host family, the staff met informally with villagers, leaders, and officials to become acquainted and to discover problem areas and "generative themes." Then, for the next five days, the educators held the seminar, during times decided upon by the villagers, usually about three or four o'clock to seven.

The seminar had two general parts: process and planning exercises. The process exercises included introductions, self-awareness, communications skills, group analysis, and discussion skills--all to help villagers examine attitudes and develop skills important for working together. In the second part, villagers analyzed problems, examined generative themes, and planned how to organize for development action. Throughout the seminar, the negative forces of oppression and domination which affect personal and community development were identified and discussed. Although villagers played a minimal role in planning and designing the seminar, they were highly active throughout. The educators utilized simple, but provocative experiential activities through which the participants own ideas and feelings became the subject of discussion. In these exercises, the role of the staff was to set the structure and to pose questions which guided the villagers in their discussion and analysis. Following the seminar, villagers were on their own in implementing the plans they had made.

As in the Aurangabad Experiment and BRAC activities, the structure of the Tanzania project both prepared villagers to assume responsibility and then actually allowed them to do so, by providing some on-going support (Aurangabad; BRAC) and by leaving the villagers on their own (BRAC; Tanzania). These components appear basic to participatory rural development efforts.

Summary of Characteristics of Participatory Approaches

This section has reviewed some participatory approaches in adult education, research, and rural development. To summarize, participatory approaches:

--give people power as decision-makers, not just "advisors," on all aspects of planning, from design to implementation to evaluation;

--involve people as local (natural) leaders, representatives, paraprofessionals, and/or active group members;

--base their "content" on people's immediate interests and needs;

--pose problems, which participants themselves solve through discussion and action-taking;

--utilize methods which promote self-expression and dialogue;

--directly benefit those who participate;

--include a change agent who acts as facilitator; procedural guide, content resource, and link to outside resources;

--recognize the importance of training change agents according to the same participatory principles as in the approaches used with clients;

--may begin with an imposed structure but gradually enable people to define and control their own structure; and

--operate on the "take over principle" (Srinavasan, 1977), preparing people to assume responsibility (through developing new skills and capabilities) and allowing them to do so.

Considerations for Effectiveness: From the overview of participatory approaches in this section, one major factor emerges: the characteristics and role of the change agent as "facilitator." This role has been comprehensively examined and defined by Arlen Etling in Characteristics of Facilitators: The Ecuador Project and Beyond (1975). Etling's research identified important selection criteria

for facilitators and important characteristics after training. Since the list is quite lengthy, only a few attributes will be listed here:

Selection Criteria for Facilitators

- Flexibility, creativity
- Lifestyle not in conflict with the community
- Belief that people ought to constantly aspire to improve themselves and their community

Characteristics After Training

- Skill in discussion and dialogue
- Ability to bring people together and effect horizonal relationships
- Sensitivity to the feelings, attitudes, and relationships of people
- Belief in the strength of shared decision-making
- Group dynamics skills

(Etling, 1975, pp. 215-216)

According to Etling's findings, these and other related qualities enhance a change agent's ability to promote the active participation of clients.

Education for Justice

> At every level, from local 'redevelopment' and women's rights to the wealth gulf between nations, justice is now a key issue.

So begins Education for Justice, a new book by Brian Wren (1977). Along with Charnofsky (Educating the Powerless, 1971), Curle (Education for Liberation, 1973), and most notably Paulo Freire (Education for Critical Consciousness, 1973; Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 1968), Wren believes that education is not neutral, but either contributes to the movement toward justice or serves to maintain prevailing unjust structures, whether between people or between nations. Through examining some of these educators' ideas and their applications, this

section will attempt to identify the meaning of education for justice.

Wren's book deals on a theoretical rather than practical level with: the definition of justice; the nature of and inevitable need to deal with power and conflict; the attributes of a just society; and the broad characteristics of the kind of education which can contribute to more just economic and social structures. He defined justice as 'fairness,' in terms of equal liberty, and social and economic sharing:

> Justice calls for the establishment of a society in both a global and national scale where each person has an equal right to the most extensive basic liberties compatible with a like liberty for all, where social and economic inequalities are so arranged that they are to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, and where they are linked with position and appointments which are open to all through fair equality of opportunity (Wren, 1977, p. 55).

In the present world and most national orders, the establishment of these conditions would require major changes. Those with dominant cultural, social, economic, and political power would need to reduce their own power to share it with others less powerful. However, as Niebuhr contended, only the challenge of power by power, not by pleas, can bring about this redistribution (1960, Introduction); "equal worth can only be established with equal power . . . . justice in society can only be established through conflict" (Wrenn, 1977, pp. 62 and 65).

Based on this thinking, Wren viewed education for justice as a means to increase people's power, culturally (in terms of confidence and identity) and politically. He called this the development of critical consciousness (influenced by Freire's ideas, which will be discussed further on): a cyclical process of standing back from one's own environment to analyze and reach new awarenesses, and of putting

these awarenesses into action. To foster this process, education must be dialogical and problem-posing, between "teacher-learners" and "learner-teachers", rather than didactic and information-giving:

> Dialogue education begins with people's real-life experience: it assumes that their situation (family, school, neighborhood, work, living conditions, position in society) is the basis of their knowing, and that they already have knowledge, wisdom, and culture. It helps people to gain a critical distance from their experience by reflecting it back to them as an open problem for their investigation. To this end, it uses enabling questions which people can respond to out of their experience, and problematizing questions which invite further thought (Wren, 1977, p. 120).

Wren's concept of "dialogue education" stressed the importance of using methods which encourage people's active involvement and are non-hierarchical: informal seating; use of small discussion and buzz groups; and allowing adequate time for openness and trust to develop. In writing about formal education for U.S. minorities, Charnofsky (1971) proposed characteristics similar to Wren's: content based on learner needs; relevant texts; use of students' own language; human relations programs; peer learning; divergent thinking activities; teacher as facilitator; self-evaluation; and student encounter groups. Together, these attributes provide for shared control of learning and for validation of the learners.

Of course, the educational thought expressed by Wren and Charnofsky has been most fully articulated by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. By presenting the other authors first, however, we realize that Freire is not alone in his concerns and that others have reached similar conclusions and proposed similar remedies in different contexts.

Much has been written about Freire and his ideas, in addition to his own books.[3] The emphasis here will be on the educational process Freire created to develop critical consciousness. Freire's process developed out of his work with rural peasants in Brazil, as a means by which the "oppressed" could begin to confront their "oppressors" through developing social awareness and taking action. To begin the process, an educator spends time with the people, to analyze their situation, and identify important themes such as "unemployment," "slums," or "water." Next, the educator "encodes" these themes in a visual form, usually a picture, which is presented to a group of people, "cultural circle", to "decode." In this stage, the educator asks a number of questions, generally in this sequence: What is the problem? Who are the people? What are they thinking? feeling? wanting? How should things be in this situation? Why are things this way? Who or what is to blame? What can we do about it? These questions provoke extensive analysis and lead to new awareness, on which action can be based.

When participants take such action, the action itself becomes the next "code" for them to analyze. So, the process continues in a cyclical fashion. (Note: If literacy is also a goal, participants learn words and sentences they derive from their discussion related to the visual stimulus). Thus, in Freire's process, actual life experiences become the teacher, and the cultural circle serves as a support

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[3]For a comprehensive list, see the bibliography in: Maryellen C. Harmon, "Paulo Freire: Implications for a Theory of Pedagogy." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1975.

and analysis group for people to work toward more just structures themselves. Freire highlights the critical role of the facilitator in this process, in a beautifully written memo "To the Coordinator of the 'Cultural Circle'":

> In order to be able to be a good coordinator for a 'cultural circle,' you need, above all, to have faith in man, to believe in his possibility to create, to change things. You need to love. You must be convinced that the fundamental effort of education is the liberation of man, and never his 'domestication'. You must be convinced that this liberation takes place to the extent that man reflects upon himself in relationship to the world in which, and with which, he lives . . . . A cultural circle is a live and creative dialogue, in which everyone knows some things and does not know others, in which all seek, together, to know more. This is why you, as the coordinator of a cultural circle, must be humble, so that you can grow with the group, instead of losing your humility and claiming to direct the group, once it is animated (Freire, 1971, p. 61).

The model for "peace-making" created by Adam Curle (1971) also applies to education for justice. Curle viewed the state of unpeacefulness in terms of unpeaceful or unjust relationships.

> Unpeacefulness is a situation in which human beings are impeded from achieving full development, either because of their own internal relations or because of the types of relations that exist between themselves (as individuals or group members) and other persons or groups (Curle, 1971, p. 1).

Therefore, any constraint of an individual's development--emotional, social, economic, or political--Curle named as a source of unpeacefulness and injustice. Curle categorized unpeaceful relationships on the basis of balance (equality of power) and awareness (recognition of the conflict) and suggested three necessary stages for making peace (Curle, 1971, Chapter 15):

Unpeaceful Relationships	Needed Approach
1. Unbalanced/low awareness	1. Research and education for awareness
2. Unbalanced/higher awareness	2. Confrontation to equalize power
3. Balanced/higher awareness	3. Conciliation and Bargaining

The final stage in the sequence is "development . . . the restructuring of a relationship so that the conflict or alienation that had previously rendered it unpeaceful is eliminated and replaced by collaboration" (p. 259) and "autonomous interdependence."

Comparing Curle and Freire, the two seem to correspond in Curle's first stage. Both are concerned with unbalanced/low awareness relationships and the need for "awareness raising" and "critical consciousness." But from there, Curle and Freire diverge. Curle maintains that following awareness, people need to learn skills in confrontation (to equalize power) and then in conciliation and bargaining. Freire leaves the required skills and choice of strategies up to the members of a cultural circle, perhaps assuming that the action-reflection sequence would necessarily lead to the adoption of such tactics. Importantly, Freire also distinguishes different levels of awareness: magical (conforming); naive (reforming), and critical (transforming) (see Smith, 1975), whereas Curle viewed awareness simply as the recognition of conflict. In the Freirian view, depending on an individual's level of consciousness, different analytical perspectives and subsequent action will be expressed. To summarize, in terms of the actual processes Curle and Freire articulated, Curle introduced a more clearly defined activist

strategy related to education for justice, while Freire placed more faith in the potential for awareness within members of a cultural circle.

While delving into the ideas of these educators can be fascinating, the more specific characteristics of education for justice will now be identified through examples of these ideas in action. Of the four theorists discussed, only Freire's process has been adapted and applied to any extent; therefore, the two overviews which follow present programs inspired by Freire's ideas.

In 1971, three educators from the University of Massachusetts began a series of consultations in the Springfield school system which developed into the "Social Literacy" project (Alschuler et al., 1976). Functioning first in one inner-city junior high school, the project then spread to other Springfield junior highs and to schools in a number of other states as well. In a nutshell, the project attempted to make the schooling experience for both teachers and students less oppressive, by resolving school conflicts through just and constructive means. Freire's basic process for the development of critical consciousness provided the operational guidelines for the project: naming the problem; analyzing the problem; and taking action related to the problem.

This process began with the educators spending two years interacting with students, faculty, administration, and parents; observing classes, hallways, the cafeteria and front office; meeting with members of the social studies department; and conducting workshops. From this contact, the team identified the "central conflict" in the school as

the "battle for students' attention" or the "discipline problem:"

> In other words, the purpose of more relevant subject matter, improved teacher-student relationships, greater student self-regulation, and more appropriate disciplinarian practices is to increase attention to learning (Alschuler et al., 1977, p. 321).

Having identified this problem, the team then involved teachers in analyzing the causes and identifying the alternative solutions to interpersonal, classroom, and school-wide conflicts. Analysis focused on "system-blame" rather than "person-blame" causes, in order to get to the root of each problem and "transform the battle for students' attention into mutually agreed upon, meaningful learning, and respectful, collaborative human relationships for all people in the classrooms" (Alschuler et al., 1976, p. 8). From this system-blame perspective, the teachers and University educators began to see school discipline problems as a variety of games, contests between teachers or administrators and students to focus students' attention in competing ways. These games included implicit or explicit rules, pay-offs, informal scoring systems, and obstacles to making points.

For instance, classes tended to begin with the "milling game." In this game, students' grouped around the teacher's desk, making a variety of requests. The teacher was at first receptive and answered inquiries; but as class time dwindled, he/she became increasingly agitated and impatient. At this point, open conflict often arose between the teacher and a student or students, which resulted in punishment (detention; being sent to the office) for one or more of them. The game had informal rules and a pay-off--for students, beating the system; and for teachers, the desire to be attentive to students. But

in this game, the scoring system was "win-lose."

To discover instead "win-win" outcomes for the "milling game" and other discipline problems, the teachers formed "social literacy" support groups. By focusing on school rules and roles, not on "bad" students or teachers, the groups evolved creative solutions, such as consistent school rules, flexible scheduling, more controlled use of the P.A. system, and special workshops to deal with implementing a new state law that placed children with special needs in regular classrooms. The teachers also developed a "survey feedback process," in which a teacher collects data on attention time and participation, presents the data as a problem to the class for mutual analysis, and collaboratively devises and implements solutions.

As the "Social Literacy" project spread to other schools, new tools were added to support the collaborative, dialogical, and system-blaming approach to solving school wide problems. These include the "Discipline Game," a board game which simulates problem situations and alternative ways to solve them; the "MALT" (mutually agreed upon learning time), a means to assess classroom attention patterns; and the "stress hunt," a process through which teachers identify their most stressful moments of the day and identify ways to reduce their stress.

"The Nuclear Problem-Solving Process" (Alschuler, et al, 1976), another tool, has been widely adopted by social literacy support groups. The process has four steps of five minutes each, but can be expanded depending on group interest and needs: 1) a teacher explains a specific conflict (i.e., poses a problem); 2) the group identifies a

pattern which illustrates the problem; and 3/4) the group brainstorms changes in the conflict producing rules and roles and develops a mutually agreed upon solution. In one group, a teacher posed the problem of how one of his classes was chronically out of control; students would throw anything they could lay their hands on, and he was considering quitting. Together, the group searched for the broader pattern which included the problem, such as rough housing around the school, and brainstormed ten system-blame solutions, i.e., rules or roles in relationships, classrooms, and in the school or school system that could be changed to solve the problem. The teacher decided to try a collaborative problem-solving process with his class, which led to fifteen mutually decided rules and a much improved classroom atmosphere. Examples such as these demonstrate how the "Social Literacy" project contributed to the more just resolution of conflicts within a number of public schools, through a problem-posing educational process.

Far south of the site of the "Social Literacy" project, another group of educators in Ecuador developed a program also based to some extent on Freire's ideas. The "Ecuador Project" (Hoxeng, 1973; Center for International Education, 1975), which can not be adequately described in this brief overview, attempted to create educational strategies which were relevant and liberating for rural campesinos.

Most fundamentally, the project and its organizers had a faith in and commitment to the ability of campesinos to do things themselves. Organizers held this view based on both humanistic and political (i.e., the need to overcome the dependencies wrought by colonialism) per-

spectives. To translate this philosophy into action, the staff organized the project around "community-based decision and demand systems" in which campesinos were able to decide what and how they wanted to learn. As in the "Social Literacy Project", the Ecuador Project evolved a number of tools to support its general approach. For example: campesinos were trained as facilitators to help others in their villages learn; these campesino facilitators also trained other campesinos to be facilitators; learning was not sequenced, but based on individual or group needs and interests; materials were intrinsically motivating and highly participatory, such as letter blocks, other literacy and numeracy games, and street theater; and materials and methods emphasized dialogue, even a radio component in which campesinos could react through making cassette recordings.

The Freirian problem-posing approach discussed earlier in this section was used by facilitators for working with campesinos on literacy skills and a simulation board game proved perhaps to be the most effective problem-poser. "Hacienda", renamed the "game of life" by some campesinos, incorporates the major forces, conflicts, and choices which confront rural Ecuadorians everyday. The game served as a "code" for campesinos to "decode," as a stimulus for analyzing and considering alternatives in their own lives. Depending on who played, the game would be different, raising new issues and perspectives. Through this game and other problem-posing discussions, the campesinos entered the cyclical analysis-action process Freire created for developing critical consciousness. By participating in this process, campesinos were activated to initiate a number of community development activities

and to demonstrate more confident behavior in relation to authority figures.

Thus, the educational strategies of the Ecuador project supported greater justice for campesinos--both in the learning process, where they were respected and trusted to assume responsibility, and in their communities, where they took action to make changes which augmented their economic or political position to some extent.

Summary of Characteristics of Education for Justice

Based on the discussion of the ideas of Wren, Charnofsky, Curle, and Freire, and the summaries of the "Social Literacy" and "Ecuador Projects", education for justice:

--attempts to develop "critical consciousness" through a cyclical process of naming a problem--analyzing--taking action;

--involves discussion in small groups or "cultural circles;"

--includes a problem stimulus, such as a visual representation or oral report, for circle members to "decode;"

--makes use of tools, such as games, as a means to help people stand back and reflect upon their realities;

--focuses on "system-blame" (rules, roles, structures) rather than "person-blame" causes of problems;

--seeks to resolve conflicts in a "win/win" outcome;

--emphasizes non-hierarchical methods and relationships, including dialogue and shared leadership; and

--utilizes facilitators who are committed to liberation, have faith in people, are humble, and who act primarily as problem and question posers.

Considerations for Effectiveness: In education for justice, the creation of an equal balance of power between the "oppressed" and

"oppressors" in any given problem situation is an important prerequisite for establishing just structures. As discussed in this section in reference to Curle, education therefore must promote this power equalization, through enabling people to learn the means by which it can be achieved. Education for justice actually has a dual role: helping people to become aware of injustice and capacitating them to confront it.

This chapter reviewed four processes for empowering: community organization, worker self-management and collaboration, participatory approaches, and education for justice. Their major characteristics are summarized in Table 1.

Characteristics of an Empowering Process

Certain questions were posed in the introduction to this chapter: What is an empowering process? What components exist in such processes? What factors enhance or inhibit effectiveness? How does an empowering process work? Having reviewed four empowering processes, these questions can now be partly answered.

Earlier in this study, "empowering" was defined as: people gaining an understanding of and control over social, economic, and/or political forces in order to improve their standing in society. An empowering process is a means to bring about such understanding and control. The major characteristics of an empowering process can be identified through examining table 1, "Characteristics of Four Empowering Processes." This compilation reveals certain commonalities

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF FOUR EMPOWERING PROCESSES

Dimension \ Strategy	COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION	SELF-MANAGEMENT & COLLABORATION	PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES	EDUCATION FOR JUSTICE
Purpose	To activate communities to improve and change their socio-economic milieu and/or their position in it.	To equalize or share power in work relationships.	To enable people to control the nature and direction of planned change related to their lives.	To help people become aware of injustice and capacitate them to confront it.
Structure	--grass roots organization and coalitions of organizations --builds on natural groups and structures	--factory or organizational structures which support worker control, including decentralized responsibility and decision-making --reduced status differences/shared roles	--organization or project in which people have a high degree of decision-making power	--"cultural circles" or discussion groups, which promote analysis and provide support for action-taking
General Pattern	Transfer of initiative and responsibility: gradual entry of organizer → catalyst to bring people together and raise issues → organization and/or training → local autonomy	Creation of self-management or collaborative plan → implementation assessment → redesign	Mutual involvement of people and change agent in all aspects of planning or Imposed plan which leads people to then develop their own plan ("take over principle")	In the group: Posing of a problem; naming; analyzing; and taking action/this pattern is cyclical and leads to the development of more critical consciousness
Role of Participants	--major leadership by native leaders and/or elected council --involvement in committees or task groups	--assume major responsibility for work in own area (autonomous work groups) --direct/contribute to policy through elected representatives --control profits	--local leaders as coordinators --trained local paraprofessional "experts" --small task groups	--source of experience and knowledge --share major leadership roles

TABLE 1--Continued

Dimension \ Strategy	COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION	SELF-MANAGEMENT & COLLABORATION	PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES	EDUCATION FOR JUSTICE
Role of Agent	--"enabler, broker, advocate, activist" --non-directive, process guide --"experts on tap, not on top"	--coordinator, facilitator, resource person	--"facilitator" --procedural guide, content resource, link with outside resources --trained according to same part, principles as expected to apply	--poses problems --asks "enabling" questions --committed to liberation and to people doing things themselves
Methods and Processes	--building communitys' problem-solving capabilities --organizing people as power base (confrontation and protest) --small group discussion /democ. procedures --content from people	--peer learning and support networks --democratic and/or consensual decision making --participative redesign workshops --committees	--peer learning --expressive, participatory materials --emergent plans --dilaogue amongst all --experiential learning	--problem-posing process --dialogue --reality-based games --"system-blame" analysis/"win-win" conflict resolution.
Considerations for Effectiveness	1) The organizer becomes decreasingly active; community members, increasingly active. 2) People initially have the greatest interest in their immediate problems and will participate if they experience benefits. 3) Community groups mature through stages, and have different needs/capabilities at different stages.	1) The commitment of managers to sharing power is essential. 2) People need to learn new attitudes and competencies for self-management and collaboration; thus, worker control evolves through a developmental process.	1) An agent's ability to truly "facilitate" enhances the active participation of the people.	1) Education for justice must be oriented toward establishing a "balance of power" in any given conflict situation; this is a prerequisite for creating more just structures.

which appear to be inherent to empowering:

1. Small group structure. An empowering process emphasizes small group activity and autonomy. Natural groups may be strengthened or groups formed on the basis of common interests. Coalitions are also formed amongst groups.

2. Transfer of responsibility. During the course of the process' implementation, participants gradually assume more and the agent assumes less initiative and responsibility. In the early stages of the process, participants may be reluctant to be involved. However, positive experience can overcome this reluctance.

3. Participant leadership. Participants exercise control or a high degree of decision-making power over all aspects of an organization or activity. Leaders may emerge naturally or be elected.

4. Agent as facilitator. The outside agent serves as: enabler, process guide, resource person, problem-poser. A facilitator is committed to the goal of empowerment and sees his/her major role as supporting people in doing things themselves.

5. Democratic and non-hierarchical relationships and processes. All are considered equals and decisions are made by majority vote or consensus. Roles and responsibilities are shared. In many cases, participants will not know how to behave cooperatively and democratically, and will require training to learn.

6. Integration of reflection and action. Participants own experience and problems provide the focus. Analysis moves to collaborative efforts to promote change, which may involve personal risk: problem-solving, planning, skills development, and/or confrontation.

7. Methods which encourage self-reliance. Techniques are used to promote active involvement, dialogue, and independent group activity such as: peer learning; support networks; workshops; providing "tools" participants can use on their own; self-expression exercises; and games.

8. Improvement of social, economic, and/or political standing. As a result of the process, participants standing in society is enhanced in specific areas.

The reason for defining the characteristics of an empowering process has been to establish a general direction for nonformal education. The eight parameters listed above provide broad guidelines for NFE to follow. However, they do not offer sufficient guidance for designing specific dimensions of NFE programs (e.g., how needs should be assessed; how curriculum should be developed; what kinds of materials should be used, etc.) nor do they take into consideration issues unique to NFE in Third World settings.

To further address how the idea of NFE as an empowering process can be put into action, therefore, we will turn next to an in-depth examination of actual NFE programs. In Chapter V, case studies of two attempts at NFE for empowering will be presented: learning groups in Indonesia and youth and village development workshops in

Thailand. These particular programs are judged valid and useful sources for drawing out insights into the form and potential of NFE as an empowering process for two reasons. First, they incorporate many of the characteristics of an empowering process identified in this chapter, and second, the author's first-hand experience with each program enables discussion of all the programmatic, human, and organizational dynamics which are important to consider. In Chapter VI, the programs will then be analyzed, using the eight general characteristics of an empowering process as a framework.

CHAPTER V

LEARNING GROUPS IN INDONESIA/ YOUTH AND VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOPS IN THAILAND

In Indonesia, the learners met one night a week in villagers' homes; in Thailand, they came together at a village wat or center to participate in a two-week workshop. Through examining what took place in each of these settings, the concept and practice of NFE as an empowering process can take on fuller meaning.

The Indonesian and Thai programs are considered representative attempts at empowering on the basis of their goals, approaches, and results. They are not proposed as ideal prototypes, but rather as examples of actual experience--complete with all the limitations problems, and potential involved in applying an educational ideal in a particular setting.

In terms of goals, both programs' stated objectives are oriented toward some degree of empowering the learners, who were in each case rural school drop-outs in their late teens or early twenties. These objectives relate primarily to economic, social, and cultural empowering, rather than to overt political activity, mainly because of the existing political situation in both countries. Generally, the Indonesian and Thai governments have emphasized top-down/GNP approaches to development, rather than needs satisfaction for their poor majorities, and have placed considerable restraints on people and movements which appear to be critical of existing power relationships.

In approach, the two programs were quite different. The Indonesian program was very loosely structured, with the shape of the program actually emerging from the learners themselves; in contrast, the Thai program consisted of a workshop of fairly structured activities for learners to follow. However, both programs included a number of the structures, relationships, and methods identified as characteristic of empowering processes in the previous chapter. Turning to results, the learners in Indonesia and Thailand both experienced some observable gains in terms of empowering. These gains were somewhat different in kind and degree for the two programs and will be identified later in the discussion.

In this chapter, the Indonesian and Thai programs are presented as separate case studies. The case study format is utilized as a means to flesh out the workings of these examples of empowering, and the studies are intentionally descriptive rather than analytic. In preparing a thorough description of the programs, a series of questions served as a narrative framework:

--How did the program begin and develop?
--Who were the learners, and what were their roles?
--Who were the facilitators, and what were their roles?
--What activities and methods did the program include?
--How did the staff or planners contribute to the program?
--What evaluation methods were used and what outcomes were identified?
--What are the basic features of the program?

In Chapter VI, an analytical framework will be used to critically examine the case studies and to identify some important issues for nonformal education as an empowering process.

Data for the case studies was drawn from primary sources, namely

program reports and materials, evaluation documents, and the author's own experience with both programs.[1] In neither case was the data compiled for research purposes; rather, it was gathered to provide information on which to base program decision-making by the respective Ministry of Education sponsors: the Directorate of Community Education in Indonesia (Penmas) and the Adult Education Division in Thailand. Since the data is not complete in every aspect and varies for the two programs, the two case studies also vary somewhat in tone and detail.

Learning Groups in Indonesia

Program Overview

Penmas (Pendidikan Masjarakat), the Directorate of Community Education/Ministry of Education/Indonesia, serves as the government's major organization for out-of-school education; its responsibilities include vocational education, women's education, community education/technology development (education related to national development efforts) and fundamental education (particularly, literacy and numeracy). With headquarters in Jakarta, Penmas has a total of about 6,500 staff members throughout Indonesia at each level of the government administrative structure: propinsi (province)--kepala bidang (provincial Penmas director); kabupaten (district)--kepala seksi (head, Penmas section); kecamatan (sub-district)--penilik (Penmas field worker); and desa (village)--penggerak (Penmas volunteer

[1] The author worked with the Indonesian program as consultant to Penmas for materials development in February 1975 and for evaluation in July-August 1975; and with the Thai program during her tenure as consultant in materials development/training with the Adult Education Division from June 1977 to January 1978.

organizer) (new position as of 1977).

From 1973-75, Penmas, in cooperation with World Education, Inc. (New York), conducted a project designed to develop an effective village-level approach (or approaches) for family life planning education. During the second year of the project, an innovative "model" evolved at one of the five project sites, Lembang, near Bandung in West Java: a network of autonomous learning groups, in which learners assumed major responsibility for what and how they learned. This case study will focus on the development, characteristics, and functioning of these groups.

The information included in this section is based on: 1) the author's experience as co-facilitator of a materials development workshop for the project in February 1975 and as a member of the project evaluation team in July-August 1975 and 2) the portion of the evaluation team's report concerned with the Lembang site, written by Lou Setti, then World Education's representative in Southeast Asia.

Program History and Development

The Learning Centers Project

In February 1975, teams from the five sites of the Penmas-World Education, "PKB Project" (Pusat Kegiatan Belajar--Learning Center) came together at the Penmas national training center, Jayagiri, in Lembang, for a workshop in materials development. The three to four member teams, composed of kabupaten and kecamatan-level Penmas staff plus representatives of community education departments of

IKIPs (teacher colleges), had already met the previous November to assess their first year's efforts and to chart plans for the next.

During the first year, the five sites had conducted a variety of activities. At Bungoro in South Sulewesi, villagers constructed a learning center building, where they attended informational classes (e.g., on family planning) and developed skills in areas such as food preservation. The Jakarta program concentrated on literacy and numeracy classes for out-of-school primary age slum children, plus some evening programs for adults. At Gudo and Johowinong, in East Java near Jombang, young women learning basic sewing and weaving, and studied topics such as Pancasila (the national ideology) and family planning. Lembang's program consisted of broadcasts related to population education for radio listening groups.

For the most part, the approaches employed for these activities were similar to those of formal schooling. At Bungoro, Gudo, and Johowinong, family life planning topics were presented mainly through lectures; as for vocational skills, only Bungoro was somewhat successful in actually enabling people to market and profit from their products. In Jakarta, teachers taught the children in much the same way and with many of the same materials as would formal school teachers. And at Lembang, the radio broadcasts tended to "tell" listening group members information or what they should do, and were minimally successful in promoting discussion. Except for some minor revisions, the plans made at the November meeting amounted to a continuation of these activities and approaches in the second year.

The February materials development workshop, however, precipitated some changes in these plans, especially at Lembang. The workshop was held because the teams had not developed materials for their curriculum plans during the November meeting. In addition, the then Director of Penmas wanted to provide a catalyst for the creation of new "appropriate and effective" materials to be created. In a memo concerning the purpose of the workshop, the Director defined "appropriate and effective" materials according to five criteria:

a) they can be produced at relatively low costs;
b) they can be managed even by unqualified teachers;
c) they require minimal involvement of the teacher;
d) they can adequately motivate learners for further learning; and
e) they do not contain gambling elements.

With this memo in hand, a Steering Committee (consisting of the author; a consultant from the University of Massachusetts; the World Education representative; Lembang PKB team members/ Jayagiri staff; and Jakarta PKB team members) met together to plan the workshop, one day before it was to begin. Considering the Director's specifications for the materials and their own previous experiences in education, some team members recognized that the effective development and use of such materials would require a "learner-centered" rather than "teacher-centered" perspective. If the PKB teams were to actually use the materials following the workshop, simple production of the materials would not be enough. The Committee decided that the teams needed also to understand the why and how of the materials' use. Since the previous PKB activities and second year plans made in November represented a strongly teacher-centered approach, the Committee created

a workshop format designed to point the teams in a more learner-centered direction.

Toward this end, both the workshop content and process were utilized as important sources of learning. Looking first at content, the workshop began with a number of exercises to challenge assumptions about adult learning, village learners, and the role of the "teacher." Then, PKB teams revised their November lesson plans based on their new insights and developed materials for their lessons, drawing upon a wide variety of samples for ideas. Most of these sample materials were highly participatory, and without the first part of the workshop, the generally teacher-centered participants might not have understood the reasons or the procedure for their use.

Since people learn as much (if not more) from how, rather than what, they learn ("the medium is the message"), the workshop process also was carefully designed to promote a learner-centered perspective. As far as possible, the workshop relationships and methods attempted to model aspects of learner-centered approaches which might be adopted in the PKB programs, including: sharing in decision-making (Steering Committee approach to planning and to managing the workshop, including almost daily meetings to try-out the next day's activities); making the learners' experience and problems the focus of learning (on the first morning of the workshop, consultants met with each PKB team to discuss needs and problems): a problem-solving orientation; learning by doing and analyzing; discussion rather than lecture; and the "teacher" as facilitator rather than instructor.

The workshop proved to be a rocky road. The task of taking educators from a teacher-centered to a more learner-centered perspective had many bumps and collisions along the way. Conditioned by years of experience to drafting formal lesson plans and giving formal lectures, members of some PKB teams were less open to new approaches than were others. However, the new ideas did provoke lively discussion and interaction, and a high energy-level existed while the teams revised their lesson plans and produced materials. By the end of the workshop, all five of the sites had made some advances in a learner-centered direction. For the Bungoro team, this involved the development of several simulation games and role plays, while the teams from Gudo, Johowinong, and Jakarta created materials to stimulate discussion.

Only the Lembang team, however, completely reoriented its approach. The reasons for this change may be attributable to certain characteristics of the Lembang team members and to their role in the workshop. As staff members of Jayagiri, the Penmas national training center, the team had had previous experience with varied training approaches. In addition, they had close personal contacts with surrounding village communities and were interested in education as a means to promote community betterment. During the workshop, these individuals took an active role in designing and facilitating each day's activities.

These factors point out the importance of the skills and attitudes of program planners and the power of "learning by doing." When the workshop began, the Lembang team was already receptive to non-traditional educational approaches; then, their high-level involve-

ment in the workshop process enabled them to understand the benefits of and concrete methods involved in a learner-centered approach. Visits to each of the five PKB sites by an evaluation team in July-August 1975, confirmed the fact that only Lembang had significantly reoriented its approach to village-level education.

Our discussion of the workshop and the relationship of Lembang to the other sites has shed light on what stimulated the Lembang program to evolve. Now, we will leave the other four PKB sites behind and focus specifically on how the Lembang program actually developed.

Evolution of the Learning Groups

At the November 1974 meeting, the Lembang team had planned a continuation of population education lectures, via the radio, for village listening groups. These broadcasts were designed to transmit information on a variety of topics that planners assumed were relevant to the villagers. In light of the learner-centered ideas and practices of the materials development workshop, however, the team re-examined its approach. Basically, the members decided that the population education lectures were not based on learner needs and that the broadcasts did not promote the active participation of listening group members. So, they literally threw away their previous plans and started again from scratch.

Instead of radio lectures, the team created a serial drama or "soap opera" format. They only prepared four programs in advance, believing that after these initial broadcasts, the immediate needs of listening group members would become the basis for script-writing.

During the workshop, the team tried out its first program, dealing with the problem of intestinal track worms. The program introduced little Asep and his family, in a skit called "Eaten By Worms." For the try-out, a group of young men from a near-by village came to Jayagiri. With one of the Lembang team as facilitator, the men sat on chairs in a circle (surrounded by the workshop participants), listened to a tape of the broadcast, and began discussion. During the discussion, the facilitator left the room for a few minutes and one of the group members took over his question-asking role. Then, following the discussion, the group moved outside to examine some of the sources of worms they had identified, namely areas of unclean water.

The two attributes evident in this try-out--autonomy and action--were to become the dominant characteristics of the Lembang program. During and immediately after the workshop, the Lembang team did not consciously decide to create a network of autonomous learning groups. They did decide, however, to give the listening groups a considerable role in determining program content and approach, and to promote problem-solving efforts rather than the absorption of information. These decisions, supportive of the autonomy and action already mentioned, created a momentum amongst learners which organically grew into the autonomous learning groups network. The groups developed over a four to five month period as learners assumed increasing responsibility for their own learning and as team members reduced their own involvement.

After about four months of program operation, when the learning groups had been activated, the Lembang team summed up the program objectives as follows:

1. To enable the participants to understand their problems, define them clearly, and develop alternative solutions.

2. To enable the participants to take part in learning activities that involve exchanges of information and experiences through discussion and the utilization of relevant materials and local learning resources.

3. To enable the participants to increase their individual capabilities on their own, not only in the course of group discussion/activities.

4. To enable the participants to improve existing skills or develop new ones so that they can be more productive.

5. To promote harmonious relationships between the people and learners.

6. To enable the participants to develop the ability to organize themselves into groups for their own progress and that of their community (Setti, 1975, Part II, p. 2).

The following sections of the case study will examine how the groups functioned to meet these objectives.

The Learners

The heart of Lembang, located in the cool mountain area above Bandung, consists of a few main streets lined with shops and open-air fruit and vegetable markets. Around the town, village settlements cluster on the hillsides above the green valleys where paddy and vegetables grow. Most of the homes have no electricity and the villagers earn their living through selling some of their produce or through manual skills. The people here are Sundanese, culturally different than the Javanese who live mainly in central and eastern Java. Transportation and communication between Lembang and Bandung, as well as with other parts of Indonesia, is good, so the people are not isolated. Roughly speaking, their standard of living is not quite as

poor as that in many other parts of Indonesia.

Following the February 1975 workshop, the Lembang team requested local government authorities, village heads and neighborhood association chairmen, to select participants for the listening groups based on two criteria: that members be 18-23 years of age and primary or junior high school drop-outs, especially those unemployed. These criteria were related to the team's assumption that an educational program in which the participants are grouped according to similar age and socio-economic/educational background will promote involvement and catalyze learning. The team also suggested that a maximum of fifteen in a group would be best for discussion, but no actual limits were placed on the number of participants allowed in the programs. Through the efforts of the local authorities, nine groups were eventually formed totalling ninety-four participants. Both young men and young women joined the groups, although a few of the groups were mostly male.

In interviews, some group members indicated that they had initially joined the program because they had been requested to do so by local authorities. However, once involved, they said they continued to participate because they were gaining increased knowledge and skills, enjoying new friendships, and taking pride in their association with the group. Other group members, however, explained that they joined the program from the outset because it provided the opportunity to meet other young people.

During the months examined in this case study (February-August 1975), the groups had only a few drop-outs. The causes for these drop-outs included the influence of friends not in the program, the fact

that the program did not meet certain expectations, and the moving of some of the participants' families. More significant than the drop-outs, however, were drop-ins, individuals who joined a group on their own after it was underway. A total of 23 participants became involved in this way, mainly because: groups meetings near their homes introduced them to the program or they heard about the program from group members at the Village Social Institute meeting.

After participating in a learning group for about five months, some members characterized the program (at that time still called PKB or Learning Center) as follows:

> --The Learning Center is an out of school activity. Even if the Center programs are terminated, the activities will continue.
>
> --The Learning Center is a movement that brings together people for the purpose of learning various skills and knowledge.
>
> --The Learning Center is a government program designed to disseminate and popularize education. The Learning Centers should be continuously developed and eventually the learners should operate them (Setti, 1975, p. 1).

The Facilitators

The Lembang team recruited facilitators, or group leaders, from amongst the village youth themselves (five) and from amongst IKIP (teacher college) students doing field practice (four), assuming that "learning led by a facilitator who serves not as a teacher, but as a catalyst, will be more effective and possibly will promote the development of positive attitudes as well as increasing skills and knowledge" (Setti, 1975, Part II/5, p. 10). To be selected, facilitators ideally had to be: about 25 years old; educated through high school;

currently employed; interested in and dedicated to community work; and experienced in group activities.

After their selection, the facilitators participated in a three-day workshop at Jayagiri, which emphasized discussion techniques, how to develop an active learning situation, and the functions of a facilitator. Several members from each learning group also attended the training, as a means to fully involve learners in the program from the outset. In addition to the pre-service workshop, in-service training subsequently took place through monthly assessment and discussion meetings, through visits by the Lembang team to group meetings, and through a learning groups bulletin, which included "how to" tips, resource ideas, and reports of the facilitators' experiences. No data is available on the comparative effectiveness of villager vs. teacher college facilitators.

Generally, the facilitators were enthusiastic about their role, the program, and its effect upon participants. These areas, as well as problems identified by the facilitators, will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Learning Program and Activities

After the members of the nine learning groups were recruited and the facilitators were selected and trained, the program got underway. The Lembang team believed that the participants should meet at a time and place convenient to them. However, the nearby radio station, "Radio Metropolitan," had only a Tuesday evening 7-8 pm time slot available for the broadcast. So, the groups met at this time, though at a place of their own choosing. Eight of the groups met in

learners' homes, while the other group used a village hall because it had electricity.

On the night of the first Tuesday meeting, learners and facilitators gathered at their meeting place, sitting on the floor or on chairs under a swinging kerosene lamp, and tuned in their radios. They listened to a dialogue story (in Sundanese) about a problem in little Asep's family and then moved on to discussion when the broadcast ended. Using open-ended questions, and with aids such as charts and handouts, the facilitators guided the group's explorations of the problems posed. With this basic sequence as the core, the groups themselves developed an active, autonomous learning network over the ensuing months.

The four radio dramas prepared in advance by the Lembang team had been based on the team members' perceptions of learners' interests and needs. Following these initial broadcasts, the topics of the radio programs were suggested by the learners or facilitators and communicated to the team in the monthly facilitator meetings. Scripts were then prepared by the team with the involvement of facilitators, and produced with the assistance of a technician at "Radio Metropolitan." In this way, needs assessment and curriculum development became on-going processes, responsive to the immediate realities of the participants.

Over the course of the program, facilitators and learners also became involved in materials development. A number of radio scripts, broadcasts, and "visual aids" were created by some of the facilitators. However, the radio programs, which had served as the original catalyst for the groups, became less and less central as other materials were developed. The most popular material in the program was a weekly

bulletin circulated to all those associated with the program. Initially, the Lembang team produced the bulletin, but gradually, facilitators and learners became involved. The facilitators used the bulletin to share their experiences and problems and to communicate "how to" ideas, such as suggestions on leading a discussion. The learners published their own stories in the bulletin and initiated a "skills exchange;" most of the information was in Bahasa Indonesia, though some was in Sundanese. The bulletin became an important source of learning and was reported to be especially enjoyable for the learners.

The Lembang team took two other steps to ensure that the program would be based on the learners' needs: 1) full freedom was given to each group to discuss whatever they wished and to take whatever actions they wanted after a broadcast and 2) each group was encouraged to pursue a variety of activities based on their own interests. One facilitator commented that:

> . . . the freedom the groups have in following up on the topics of the radio broadcast has motivated them to take the initiative and has given them a real sense of achievement in their accomplishments (Setti, 1975, Part III/5, p. 11).

A look at some of the groups' activities provides a sense of what the facilitator meant.

These activities fall into four general categories: seeking additional information related to a topic or problem which arose in the group; learning new skills; initiating community involvement projects; and organizing sports and recreation programs. In each of these areas, group members themselves decided which activities to pursue and identified local resources to enable them to do so.

As an example of the first category, seeking additional information, four groups contacted a community health center doctor following a broadcast related to family planning. Presenting an introductory letter from the Lembang team, they arranged for him to come talk with them about family planning methods and services. When the doctor did not show up at the time agreed upon, the groups were not dissuaded. They found a woman in their own community who had served as an aid in a family planning clinic and invited her to their meeting to replace the doctor; she attended and members were satisfied with her answers to their questions. But, the groups did not stop at locating this alternative resource. They also filed a complaint with the local authorities concerning the doctor's "no show."

In the area of learning new skills, the groups evidenced the same tendency to take action beyond their immediate objective. To identify opportunities for skills development, the groups initiated a "skills exchange" in the weekly bulletin and found existing skills courses in the Lembang area. Through these means, the groups organized skills programs in a wide range of areas, including: sewing, cooking, food preservation, cosmetic making, automobile maintenance, bamboo carving, and English. The programs, however, had a broader focus than mere skills acquisition.

For example, the group members interested in bamboo carving worked together to develop an effective strategy for using their new skills to earn money. The group realized that skills were not enough, that the problems of marketing and securing initial capital would also have to be tackled. Since two of the group members served as weekend

guides at a local tourist attraction (a volcano and near-by hot springs), the group agreed to set up a table and sell its handicrafts at this site. However, because of the relatively high cost of the kind of bamboo needed, the group could not get started on funds available to its members. After several discussions at the Tuesday night learning group meetings, members decided to approach a local bank for a loan--a possibly unprecedented move for a group of unemployed youth in Indonesia. Besides deciding to seek the loan, the group carefully examined alternative means for getting it.

The main issue hinged on whether the group should send its most articulate, presentable member or go en masse. The group finally supported the latter strategy because they felt that together members would be less easily frustrated and more likely to seek other sources of capital if the loan was not granted. Aware of their local situation, the group was realistic about the limited chance of obtaining a loan; however, deriving encouragement from one another, they decided to try anyway. (In the end, the group did not receive the bank loan, but did obtain a loan from a private individual.) Reflecting on this group's functioning, the World Education representative involved with the project raised an important issue:

> Will a group--one that is developing though actual use group analytic and problem-solving skills--be more likely to take a holistic approach to skill acquisition for employment or income generating purposes than an individual and, more significantly, than a group whose main reason for being is to learn a particular vocational skill? (Setti, 1975b, p. 5).

While a definitive answer to this question can not be given, the strength of the skills learning activities of the learning groups

seems to lie in their emphasis both on skills acquisition and on problem-solving about how to use those skills.

The Lembang learning groups also organized community improvement projects and sports/recreation activities. The community projects, such as village clean-up campaigns, built on the Indonesian tradition of gotong royong (self-help) and included the groups' initiating new activities or joining other efforts existing in their neighborhoods. One group formed an active volleyball team (complete with uniforms) and set up an inter-group athletic meet. Another group lessened tensions between two rival youth gangs as members of each gang became actively involved in the group's activities.

In the four areas of learning group activity, the autonomy allowed the groups in their pursuit of "content" objectives enabled them to develop both "content" and "process" competencies. Here, "content" refers to concrete information and skills relevant to the learners lives, while "process" concerns abilities necessary for self-reliance, such as: identifying one's needs, analysis, problem-solving, seeking resources, working together, and interacting with authorities. These "process" competencies are probably the more important of the two, since they enable learners to learn and solve problems on their own, even after a program ends.

Amongst the "process" competencies noted above, identifying and utilizing resources deserves special attention. For the most part, except for the radio broadcasts and visual materials prepared by the facilitators, the resources used by the learning groups were created or found by the learner themselves. In the bulletin, a number of the groups

jointly compiled an inventory of human and organizational resources in the Lembang area and also coordinated the skills exchange already mentioned. In the exchange, those desiring either to learn or to teach a particular skill were able to advertise. The Lembang team intentionally encouraged the groups to assume this major responsibility for resource identification because, as team members stated, "the identification of existing learning resources that could be utilized during group study efforts is in itself a learning process and, by allowing the groups to pursue this on their own, it is expected that the members will develop the ability to seek out needed information and skills from the proper resources" (Setti, 1975, Part III/10, p. 14).

As the learning groups gradually assumed increasing responsibility for their own learning, the role of the group facilitators came to include a number of dominant components: discussion moderator, contact between the group and resources and the Lembang team, encourager/supporter of group initiative, and in some cases, group leader. To strengthen these roles, the facilitators attended monthly meetings with the Lembang team, designed for sharing useful information and solving mutual problems. These meetings reinforced the facilitator role still new to a number of those involved. They became support groups, rather than instructional, sessions.

Some of the problems raised by facilitators and actions taken to confront them were:

1. Potential resource persons are unfamiliar with the learning group program and sometimes hesitant to become involved./ The Lembang team met with local authorities and contacted some

potential resources to explain the program; the weekly bulletin was distributed to sub-district authorities.

2. The program's budget is not sufficient to support all the group's desired activities. / The Lembang team sought out additional sources of funding and encouraged the groups to do the same.

3. Some parents continued to be unwilling to let their daughters attend night activities./ The team prepared a permission form for parents to sign, which gave more legitimacy to the program.

4. The radio broadcasts were sometimes boring because learners were accustomed to more professionally-produced programs./ The team attempted to arrange for a popular and successful Bandung radio station to prepare the programs; however, this proved impossible because the station's costs were too high for the program budget. Learners were encouraged to contribute to the radio scripts.

5. Some group members, particularly those with less schooling, tended to participate less in discussion./ Efforts were made by facilitators to draw out these individuals; for example, in some meetings, each member was asked in turn to give his/her ideas or opinion.

6. A number of facilitators continued to act mainly as traditional teacher or instructors./ Monthly meetings and team visits to the learning groups attempted to reinforce new roles and to promote the development of skills, especially in asking

stimulating questions and moderating a discussion.

The Staff

The Lembang team consisted of three members of the Penmas national training center (Jayagiri), a faculty member from the nearby IKIP (teacher college) (low level participation), and a radio technician to produce the broadcasts. From the program's inception, the team members promoted learner autonomy and then adopted roles which strengthened this orientation as the program unfolded.

Overall, the Lembang team provided technical and material support (through the project budget, use of equipment and facilities) for the learning groups, but team members did not attempt to manage nor to direct the group's activities. The staff support roles included: training the facilitators; preparation of the radio broadcasts; handling of budget and administrative matters; coordinating the program bulletin; facilitating the monthly facilitators' meeting; visiting the learning groups; and responding to specific groups' requests for assistance or advice. In most of these areas, the team willingly shared responsibility with facilitators and learners; and by the time five months had elapsed, significant responsibility had actually been transferred to the groups.

Clearly, the commitment of the staff to learner autonomy, in both attitude and practice, was a key factor in activating the potential of the learning groups. The staff members' commitment grew out of many years experience with training and education at Jayagiri and of their respect and active concern for the welfare of local villagers. It was these exceptional qualities which set the tone for the learning groups program.

Evaluation Methods and Results

Since the initial objectives of the learning group program were quite open-ended, the team wanted to collect descriptive data on how the program was evolving and to identify any problems which would naturally arise. Therefore, in its first five months of operation, the program utilized simple evaluation tools to gather information on facilitator effectiveness and on the effect of the program on the participants. The tools used included: interviews and observation to determine learner attitudinal and behavioral change (emphasis on qualitative change over the course of the program); a group interaction form to assess participation and reaction during discussion; facilitators' journals; attendance lists; and visits to the learning groups by staff.

Data from these sources did in fact serve as a basis for identifying problems and taking action to confront them. For example, in response to problems noted in the facilitators' journals or observed during visits to the learning groups, the Lembang team organized appropriate inservice training. These sources also provided specific information on the program activities discussed earlier and on changes in learners. A number of facilitators noted that the learners had become: "more vocal and willing to express their opinions to facilitators and the Lembang staff and more open in their contact with local authorities" (Setti, 1975, Part III/13, p. 17).

However, the richest evaluative data, which kept the Lembang team on top of the actual development of the learning groups, came through the quality of human relationships amongst those involved in the program. Through sharing the control of program development and

through operating on a fairly non-hierarchical basis, the learners, facilitators, and staff all developed a trust and openness which encouraged communication. Perhaps this "family" or partnership approach was in itself the most effective evaluation tool, at least for the purposes of formative evaluation, i.e., evaluation related to program revision and improvement.

No summative or final evaluation has been conducted on the program, but as of late 1977, the learning groups were still active (based on an interview with one of the Lembang staff). Four of the original groups had continued and four new groups had begun. The facilitators of these new groups were trained and supervised by a number of facilitators of the original groups, rather than by the Lembang staff.

In addition to its effect on the lives of the staff, facilitators, and learners, the Lembang learning groups program has also influenced the form of nonformal education throughout the country. With a loan from the World Bank, Penmas has launched a five year (1977-1982) program to reorient its educational approach. The new approach emphasizes local facilitators and village-based learning groups, which may be either "structured" (following a standardized course of some kind) or "unstructured" (open-ended; pursuing interests and activities decided upon by the group itself). The "model" for these unstructured groups drew heavily upon the Lembang experience.

Summary of Basic Features

From the preceding narrative description of the Lembang learning

groups program, the distinguishing characteristics of this example of NFE as an empowering process emerge:

1. A staff (and institution) committed to learner autonomy and willing to share power in program decision-making, and to serve in a technical and material support role.
2. Facilitators recruited from the community and trained as discussion moderators and activity coordinators.
3. Learning groups composed of individuals of a similar age and some schooling, which meet weekly and determine their own purposes and activities.
4. A stimulus for the groups to organize around, in this case a radio broadcast.
5. In-service facilitator training designed as a forum for discussing common problems and sharing useful information.
6. Learning materials and resources created or identified by learners, or with learner input.
7. A range of community learning resources available to draw upon.

Youth and Village Development Workshops

Program Overview

In 1977, the Adult Education Division (AED) Ministry of Education/ Thailand, began a five-year World Bank-supported project to strengthen its capability to serve adult learners, particularly those in rural areas. Up until this time, approximately sixty percent of the Division's classroom-based activities had been conducted in urban and

semi-urban areas; also, AED's programs had been created at the Bangkok headquarters and coordinated by Bangkok staff, as well as by adult education officers in each of Thailands 72 changwats (provinces). Recognizing that these structures, as well as related problems, limited the Division's ability to reach and respond to rural learners, AED staff developed a plan for a flexible, decentralized, and coordinated national "system" of adult education. The World Bank project supports the partial implementation of this system.

As of this writing, four regional "research and development" centers have been established, in the north, northeast, central region, and the south. Ideally, each center will share responsibility for program development and evaluation with Bangkok and provide support for the new provincial centers in its region. During the project, twenty-four of these provincial "Lifelong Education Centers"--LECs--will be set up, and the long-range plan aims to cover all the changwats by 1990. The LECs serve as the implementors and coordinators of AED programs in each respective province; eighty percent of their activities are supposed to take place in the rural areas. At present, AED programs emphasize general education, skills acquisition, and access to knowledge and information, through the following major offerings: 1) functional literacy classes; 2) school equivalency classes (second chance education); 3) mobile trade training schools; 4) vocational training courses; 5) short-term vocational technical trade training courses; 6) public libraries; 7) mobile recreation and public information units; 8) informational radio broadcasts; 9) village newspaper reading centers; and 10) interest groups. The project also provides

for the establishment of 8,400 new reading centers (24,000 are planned by 1990, one each for half of the villages in the country).

From August to December 1977, an additional program was created for the LECs, as an attempt to develop an approach to meet some of the special needs of unemployed school drop-outs, in their late teens and twenties. This program, identified as a youth[2] and village development workshop, was designed both to enable youth to augment their individual income-producing skills and to contribute to positive change in their communities. The workshop was implemented at five LECs and subsequently revised on the basis of these try-outs. This case study will focus on two of these implementations, one at the LEC in Chiengmai in the north and the other in Ratburi, west of Bangkok.

Information about the workshops is drawn from the author's direct experience with all aspects of the program; from program documents; and from evaluation reports.

Program History and Development

Workshop Planning

When World Bank funds for the first project year arrived at AED in August 1977, after numerous red-tape delays, only two months remained in the fiscal year. Therefore, the staff members faced the challenge of spending this money responsibly within the limited period available. This pressure was felt particularly by the national-level

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[2]Though the term "youth" was utilized for the program, the participants were in fact young adults.

staff responsible for the LECs. The LECs' budget for fiscal 1977 had included a number of line items for four new training programs, none of which the staff had had time to develop. Since all these programs had to be planned and implemented in August and September, the LEC coordinator decided that there was not time for input from rural learners or from LEC staff members. Lacking this input, the Bangkok-based staff themselves had to determine the purposes and form of each training program.

In developing the youth training, the planners were guided by their own perceptions of the needs of rural youth and by the Division's khit pen philosophy. They decided basically that the program should attempt to enable youth to improve their own lives and to contribute to the improvement of their communities. This broad purpose was based on the assumption that rural youth have insufficient income producing skills and are an underused "resource" for community development.

The program's purpose was also shaped by the Thai ideal for adult education, represented by the concept khit pen. According to Dr. Kowit Vorapipatana, former director of AED, khit pen is a process through which learners strive toward life's ultimate goal of happiness, by seeking harmony with their environments:

> Some people translate 'khit pen' as critical thinking, others as rational thinking, still others as problem-solving. It is, in fact, the combination of these processes and more. A man [or woman] who has mastered 'khit pen' will be able to approach problems in his life systematically. . . . If due to outside circumstances or lack of certain necessary knowledge or skills, the solution of his choice can not be implemented right away, a 'khit pen' man will not become frustrated. Instead, he will adopt a lesser solution while preparing to make the solution of his choice possible. . . . In other words, this philosophy

encourages people to change, but not to destroy themselves physically and mentally doing so (Adult Education Division, July 1975, pp. 7-8).

The planners, then, also viewed the program as a means to promote the development of these khit pen attributes amongst village youth.

However, the planners realized the limitations of creating a program based solely on their own perceptions of the learners' needs and on the Division philosophy. Therefore, they decided that the August plan would be only the first step in program development. After implementations at five LECs--before the end of the fiscal year--the program would be revised on the basis of feedback and analysis.

Having established the program's overall purpose, the planners translated this into specific objectives:

1. To help youth learn more about themselves and their potential and to develop greater confidence.
2. To enable youth to augment the their occupational skills.
3. To strengthen the youths' capabilities in human relationships, leadership, and critical thinking.
4. To promote the development of abilities in working together as a group.
5. To enable youth to contribute to their communities development through learning problem-solving and planning skills.
6. To promote team efforts which might enable youth to work together after the training program.
7. To help youth better understand how to be democratic citizens (Adult Education Division, 1978, p. 1).

In support of these objectives, the planners opted for a workshop format, emphasizing "learning by doing" and active participation of the youth. For the workshop, the idea of "learning by doing" was simplified to mean a three-step process of: experience/analysis and

understanding/application. This process was incorporated on two levels: within most individual workshop exercises and in the overall progression of the workshop, i.e., from various experiences during the first week to the application of learning based on these experiences in the second. The workshop plan also included a number of other chacteristics, considered by the planners to be particularly supportive of 'khit pen:'

1. Content relevant to needs and problems in the participants' lives.
2. Methods which catalyze active participation and interaction amongst participants.
3. Materials which provoke and pose problems, but do not provide answers.
4. Trainers who serve as guides to enable participants to develop new skills and ideas.
5. Learning which is not only cognitive, but which leads to new awarenesses and behaviors.
6. A combination of mini-lectures and discussion, with discussion emphasized.
7. Emphasis on small group activities, which encourage learner autonomy.
8. Activities which are fun and motivate participants to become involved (Adult Education Division, 1978, p. 2).

In further preparation for the LEC implementations, the planners drafted a complete workshop manual, which explained the program's purpose and approach and presented a description of and instructions for leading each day's activities. The manual had these "units," each composed of various exercises:

Week I

Creating the Atmosphere (getting acquainted; expectations)
Working Together as a Group
Setting Goals for Our Lives

Planning How to Reach Our Goals
Solving Problems as a Team
Occupational Skills Mini-Workshops

Week II

Sharing Our Skills With Our Communities
Helping Our Communities
Planning Village Problem-Solving Projects

Next, the planners turned to the training of trainers. The workshop was scheduled to be implemented in late August and September at five LECs: Chacheongsao, Chiengmai, Ratburi, Petchaboon, and Ubon Ratchatanee. For the most part, the staff members of these centers had had only limited experience with methods used in the workshop, since AED programs with which they worked emphasized classroom-type learning and vocational skills training. So, the effective training of these individuals was considered crucial. However, the time restrictions under which the program had been forced to operate provided no room for the training of trainers. Faced with this limitation, the planners decided that the first workshop implementation at the Ubon LEC would have to serve two purposes: the training of trainers from the other four LECs through their own "learning by doing" (sharing facilitator responsibilities with the Bangkok staff) and the training of the Ubon youth participants in the program.

The Workshop Try-Out

On an evening in mid-August, the LEC and Bangkok staff members convened at the Ubon LEC in northeast Thailand, with the workshop scheduled to begin the following day. Participants had already arrived from their villages, located near the Thailand-Laos border and were settled in to the LEC dorms. The young men and women came from one of

the poorest areas of the country and had time to participate because August falls just before the planting season. The fourteen trainers, at their first meeting together, discussed the program in general, skimmed the manual, and prepared for the following day's activities. They decided that the Bangkok staff would begin as the workshop facilitators and then gradually share this role with the LEC staff members, as they became familiar with the methods through daily observation.

During the two-week workshop program, a number of problems were encountered. First of all, the sharing of facilitator responsibilities amongst all the trainers created a situation of chaos, though perhaps creative chaos. The manual was unclear in parts, and meeting each night, the trainers had insufficient time to coordinate and prepare for their activities. In addition, the participants were somewhat confused by this rotation of leadership, as well as by the workshop format and language used. The youth equated learning with the methods of formal schooling, and since the workshop processes were new to both trainers and participants, some exercises foundered. In terms of language, the trainers generally spoke "standard" or Bangkok Thai, while the youth spoke a dialect more similar to Lao. At times, the youth had trouble understanding the trainers, and vice versa.

Despite these problems, however, at the end of the workshop, most of the trainers had gained a working familiarity with the program methods, and the youth were pleased with what they had learned. The only changes participants suggested in the workshop activities (through written feedback forms) concerned eliminating some of the exercises with purposes which seemed unclear and expanding the occupational skills

segment. Of course, the youth might not have been more critical, because they were not used to giving feedback and had felt somewhat intimidated by the large number of "outsider" facilitators. In any case, they stated that they had especially valued: occupational skills mini-workshops; problem-solving sessions; planning for village projects; and activities which were "fun."

The trainers took into account these reactions, as well as their own, when considering how to revise the workshop before implementing it in their individual LECs. In response to the comments of participants, the trainers decided to replace a number of the exercises. However, they did not think that the occupational skills segment needed expansion, since AED offered other learning opportunities in these areas. They saw the purpose of this part of the workshop as an opportunity for participants to enhance their already existing abilities in farming and homemaking, through learning specific skills such as mushroom-growing or preparation of certain foods. The trainers also decided to eliminate the second week unit of "sharing skills with our communities," since it was not included at Ubon because of lack of time and did not seem necessary. The only other change they suggested was the identification of a youth chairperson or persons to assist in running the workshop program.

According to the national LEC coordinator, the trainers did not suggest any major revisions because they were unfamiliar with the workshop approach and therefore hesitant to make changes based on only one try-out.

After the Ubon try-out, the staffs returned to their respective LECs and implemented the workshop. At Chacheongsao, the workshop was altered significantly to include numerous lectures, the approach to which the LEC trainers there were most accustomed. Despite severe floods, the Petchaboon staff attempted to follow the workshop plan fairly closely. However, lectures tended to predominate and the youth came from too many villages, too far apart, to enable realistic team project planning. In Chiengmai and Ratburi, however, the trainers implemented the workshop in full and made additions which strengthened the program's potential for meeting its objectives. The remainder of this case study will focus on these two sites.

The Learners

Villages in the northern province of Chiengmai and in Ratburi, west of Bangkok, are green for much of the year. Both areas have good irrigation systems, as well as good transportation and communication ties between rural areas and the provincial capitals.

In Chiengmai province, the participants came from one large village, a conscious decision made by the trainers as a means to augment the possibility that post-workshop activities would occur. The village lies directly off a main paved road, about twenty-five kilometers from Thailand's second largest city, Chiengmai. Several dirt roads lead into its interior, a community of over two hundred households. In the dominant Thai style, the homes are wood and raised on stilts, with places for storage or sitting in the shade beneath; they vary in size and quality, but most have electricity. A klong or canal borders one

side of the village, near which lie the fields that support three annual rice crops, as well as several other kinds of vegetables. The people are principally farmers. Through the cooperation of the village head, forty-five young people were selected from the village for the program, nineteen male and twenty-six female. They ranged in age from 15-25 and in educational background from completion of fourth-level primary to completion of two years of high school.

The Ratburi workshop involved youth from four villages in one tambon (sub-district), which were located quite close to one another. As in Chiengmai province, the village was only about twenty-five kilometers from the provincial capital and in addition only eighty kilometers from Bangkok (about two hours by bus). The villages contain about one hundred households each, and all the villages have electricity. Here, in addition to growing rice, the farmers produce corn, sugar, and livestock. Ten male and ten female participants were selected for the workshop, again with the assistance of the village heads and the kamnan (tambon head). They were 15-25 years old and represented a wide range of schooling, from completion of fourth level of primary to completion of teacher college.

In both Chiengmai and Ratburi, all the learners completed the workshop and at times, other villagers observed the activities and occasionally joined in. This was possible because the Chiengmai and Ratburi staffs had opted to hold the workshop in the village, rather than at the LECs, which were in semi-urban settings.

The Facilitators

The Chiengmai and Ratburi workshops were run by the provincial LEC staff members who had been present at the Ubon workshop, with the assistance of other trainers from their respective Centers. At Chiengmai, the LEC Director and training coordinator assumed major responsibility for the workshop. The Director had had many years experience with adult education and community development, while his coordinator was younger and less-experienced, but equally receptive to the workshop objectives and methods. In contrast, two young women instructors led the workshop at Ratburi. Neither had been particularly active at Ubon, where they were the only women trainers present and had clearly deferred to the men. Also, they had a fairly traditional home economics teaching background and little previous experience with the kinds of processes included in the workshop.

Both the Chiengmai and Ratburi facilitators, however, had an interest in villager-initiated development, which they translated into action in their workshops. At each site, the facilitators decided to hold the training in the village itself, and at Chiengmai, the facilitators actually lived in the village throughout the workshop. They were all dedicated to and enthusiastic about their work, going beyond the original workshop plan in order to strengthen the program's potential for effectiveness. For example, the Chiengmai staff held early morning calisthenics and evening recreational programs, as team-building techniques. In Ratburi, the LEC staff spent hours of their "free time" helping the participants plan and prepare for a party for the villagers, a means to encourage team spirit as well as to make

visible the youth's slated projects for the village. The Chiengmai and Ratburi LECs also ordered "workshop T-shirts"; in addition, the Ratburi staff compiled and printed a complete workshop report for each participant, which included a description of the activities and summaries of all discussions.

The question naturally arises why these particular facilitators responded so favorably to the youth workshop. In neither case had the facilitators had much experience with the kinds of methods utilized, and both groups encountered certain difficulties in implementing the program. Yet, at Chiengmai and Ratburi, the facilitators all spoke most favorably of the workshop approach following their own two-week sessions. Perhaps an explanation lies in the receptivity of both LEC staffs to villager-initiated development. Already having such a commitment, the workshop approach provided a vehicle for them to put their ideals into action.

Learning Program and Activities

In Chiengmai province, the area between the workshop participants' village and the paved road to the provincial capital is a grassy field, bordered on the top by an adult vocational school and on the sides by a public hall and a dirt road, travelled by motor bikes and children leading water buffalo. This was the site of the Chiengmai youth and village development workshop. Most of the day-time sessions, except for excursions to the village or other locales, took place under the trees. Participants sat in a circle or worked together in small clusters, with the facilitators leading the exercises and recording the points of discussion on a portable blackboard or on newsprint.

In the late afternoons, the youth returned home to have dinner with their families while the facilitators ate at the vocational school, which was not in session at the time. Then, at night, everyone re-assembled at the hall for recreation and to bed down in the makeshift women's and men's dormitories.

In Ratburi, the large sala or hall of a village wat served as the workshop base. Here, participants from the surrounding villages gathered each morning and remained until twilight. The workshop discussions and "products"--newsprint lists and drawings taped to building support columns--enlivened one small corner of the spacious, austere hall and sometimes brought curious stares from the monks in their adjacent compound. Across an open field from the sala, there was a public hall which was used for the final night party.

Both the Chiengmai and Ratburi workshops generally followed the structured schedule of activities which had been created in Bangkok and modified after the Ubon try-out, with the addition of other unique activities at each site. As described previously, the workshop emphasized "learning by doing" and involved participants in a series of activities related to improving their own lives as well as their villages. The following outline provides a summary of the core content and processes of the two-week workshop. Since the time devoted to each activity varied at Chiengmai and Ratburi, a day-by-day schedule is not included:

Unit I — Creating the Atmosphere
Getting acquainted and self-awareness exercises; discussion of purposes and expectations of the workshop

Unit II — Working Together as a Group
Group dynamics and cooperation exercises; identification of "guidelines" for groups to follow

Units III/IV — Setting Goals and Planning How to Reach Them
Activities related to projecting future changes and developing steps toward these changes (some exercises for this segment were adapted from "achievement motivation" methods)

Units V — Solving Problems as a Team
Use of three techniques to identify village problems and to promote creative problem-solving: 1) analysis of forces which "help" and "hinder" problem-solving (modified force field analysis); 2) problem-posing through photos (on a trip to the village, each participant took a "problem photo;" in a later session, these were distributed to small groups to discuss); 3) home-made puppet role plays (dramatizations of a problem to "humanize" the issues involved)

Unit VI — Occupational Skills Workshops
Two or three days of mini-workshops for participants to learn and actually apply specific skills they selected (e.g., in Ratburi, participants had grown some mushrooms by the end of the training)

Unit VII — Helping Our Communities
Exercises focused on the meaning of helping, effective two-way communication, and what makes people change

Unit VIII — Planning a Project for Our Village
Teams of 4-5 members each met to map out specific village projects, using a simplified "planning chart;" these were:

Chiengmai: fund-raising for village projects through film shows and fairs; improving roads and house signs; setting up a village learning center in an available building; planting new varieties of vegetables as a cooperative venture; surveying village problems; establishing a village child day care center

Ratburi: building a water drainage system; constructing three roads; repairing a public hall

(Note: Three months after the workshops, most of these planned projects had actually been completed.)

In addition to these activities, Chiengmai supplemented the workshop with others designed to provide inspiration and promote team-building. For inspiration, the trainers took the participants to visit examples of successful development activities, including: a newspaper reading center initiated and managed by youth; a village which had won a national award for its development activities (such as hog-raising and a day-care center); and a farm which grows a variety of vegetables and markets them profitably. In terms of team building, as mentioned before, the LEC staff lived with the participants throughout the program and lead calisthenics in the morning and recreational activities in the evenings. Both LEC staffs brought in resource persons to talk with participants about topics of interest to them, such as family planning.

The Ratburi staff also added several informative field trips to their workshop (to a model farm and a local milk factory), and encouraged cooperation between the participants and the villagers. On the final night party--complete with rock band, a speech by the former Minister of Education, and tables of food and drink--the youth announced the projects they had planned, and the villagers cheered them on. This community support, according to follow-up reports, helped them in actually implementing their plans.

In conducting the workshop, foremost among the problems that the Chiengmai and Ratburi trainers encountered was the participants'

initial reaction to the workshop methods. The workshop activities drew heavily on "experiential" and "humanistic" learning exercises,[3] which contrast strongly with the lecture and rote learning methods the participants equated with learning. At first, the youth were confused by why the facilitators asked so many questions, and they complained that they had to think too much. Also, some felt hesitant to openly express their opinions, since the group was a male-female mix, and since they perceived the trainers to be their superiors. However, gradually, these restraints decreased and at times even fell by the way-side. Discussion at both Chiengmai and Ratburi became uninhibited and lively, with the young women speaking as much (and in some cases more) than the young men. Though the youth had not been accustomed to this type of participation in a learning situation, they may have been encouraged to do so by the new norms created by the trainers' own behavior and by the trainers' validation of the new behaviors of the youth. Also, the youth may have been active because the training activities interested them and directly promoted discussion and interaction, and the trainers posed questions and problems and tried not to give the "right" answers.

Trainers at both sites felt that some of the exercises had not been effective, particularly those which were so much fun that the participants had no interest in follow-up discussion (e.g., one of the goals setting games) and those that were hard to analyze and apply to the participants real-life situations. Except for some of these exercises, however, the trainers were satisfied with the workshop approach and its

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[3]Appendix B includes an annotated list of sources for such activities.

effect on the participants.

The trainers also identified a number of operational problems, based on their workshop implementations:

--outside resource people tended to present boring lectures;

--in some cases, facilitators could not conduct a thorough enough discussion after an activity, so that participants were not sure what they learned;

--participants had different levels of schooling and had trouble reading and writing;

--some participants did not work well together;

--two trainers were not enough; they got tired and the participants got bored.

In terms of the participants reactions to the workshops, the most frequent responses by Chiengmai and Ratburi youth on their feedback forms were:

Most liked about the program/ Most important thing learned	Should be changed
Occupational skills sessions	Add more occupational skills sessions
Working in small groups	Better discipline (e.g., being on time)
Problem-solving activities	Lengthen training program
Thinking	
Singing and Dancing	
Morning calisthenics (Chiengmai)	
Project planning	
How to be a good person	
How to use time well	

In addition, several single responses provided useful ideas for program improvement and insights into program effectiveness. One Ratburi participant suggested that only lively activities should be held after lunch when everyone was tired. Another individual at Chiengmai commented that she had learned about unity in a group and how to help one another.

In general, the participants' reactions indicated that they valued both the occupational skills and "process" learning (problem-solving, planning, etc.) parts of the workshop.

The reactions of trainers and learners noted above were subsequently considered at a four-day AED meeting in December 1977, held to draft a final workshop manual for all LECs to use in their programs.

The Staff

The role of the Bangkok-based AED staff in program planning and development has already been discussed. During the workshop implementations at the LECs, the staff visited each site for a few days to observe the proceedings and to provide support and suggestions related to the workshop methods. Often, after the evening workshop activities ended, the Bangkok staff held informal seminars with the LEC trainers to discuss operational problems and to reinforce their understanding of the "learning by doing" approach. For the most part, however, the Bangkok staff gave the LEC trainers full autonomy in conducting their individual workshops. At Chiengmai and Ratburi, this autonomy enabled the staffs to create workshops better than the original design. For the LECs (Chacheongsao and Petchaboon) which did not implement the workshop in full, however, greater guidance from the planners might have been needed.

Evaluation Methods and Results

Since the youth and village development workshop was a new program in AED, the planners wanted to gather complete data on the problems

of implementation and on the program's effect on participants. This information was to be used as a basis for judging whether the program should be continued, and if so, how it could be improved. With these purposes in mind, the planners sought to answer two major questions through a number of simple evaluation tools:

1) How did participants and trainers react to the program?

   Participants: Observation and end-of-workshop feedback forms

   Trainers: Observation, interviews, compilation of list of problems encountered

2) How did the training effect the participants?

   a) Did participants attitudes toward taking initiative for self and village development change over the course of the workshop?

      A pre-test/post-test form containing five statements of agreement/disagreement and five incomplete sentences

   b) Did the participants behavior change during the workshop?

      Observation, unstructured and with interaction analysis form (used, however, infrequently)

   c) What actions did the participants take after the workshop for self and village development?

      Follow-up interviews three months after the workshops, focusing on completion of the planned projects and any other examples of individual and/or group initiative

In the earlier section on "learning program and activities," the reaction of the participants and the trainters to the workshop has already been examined. Here, then, only the second major evaluation question will be considered.

Participant attitude change: The attitude pre-test/post-test proved hard to analyze and the results were not subjected to tests to statistical significance. In the "agreement/disagreement" section,

participants at Chiengmai and Ratburi tended to maintain positive attitudes or develop more positive attitudes related to the statements "I know some problems in my village I would like to help solve" and "my abilities can be used to improve my life." Participants showed both more and less favorable reactions to the statements "I am confident of my abilities" and "I think my life will be better five years from now." This may indicate that the workshops caused some participants to look more critically at their own skills and to recognize certain socio-economic forces and factors which cast a shadow on the future. In the long run, this could either make the participants pessimistic and inactive, or enable them to create more critically conceived plans for change. Response to the "incomplete sentence" portion of the form indicated tendencies similar to those in the "agreement/disagreement" section.

Participants Behavior Change During the Workshop: Both staff observations and reports from the Chiengmai and Ratburi trainers indicated that the participants became active in discussion and working in small groups after the first day or two of the workshop. Generally, a high level of participation was then maintained throughout the workshop, with variation depending on particular individuals and particular exercises.

Action by Participants After the Workshop: At Chiengmai and Ratburi, most of the projects planned during the workshop had been completed at the end of three months. Most noteworthy amongst the Chiengmai participants' accomplishments were raising 6,000 Baht (about US $300) for village development projects; establishing a day-care center;

and preparing a building to serve as a village learning center. At Ratburi, the youth constructed three roads and repaired a public hall.

In interviews, a number of Chiengmai and Ratburi youth also showed an interest in continuing to work as a "development group;" however, no follow-up information is available on whether they in fact have. In addition, the interviews revealed individual actions taken, related to diversifying or improving family agricultural production and/or improving family life (e.g., house repairs, health practices, etc.). Besides these concrete accomplishments, however, youth learned processes during the training which may enable them to become increasingly self-reliant.

In order to utilize the evaluation data for overall program assessment, it was compiled into a general report, which concluded with recommendations for improving the workshop program. The report provided the focus for a four-day workshop revision meeting in December 1977, attended by trainers from the five LECs, Bangkok workshop planners, and other AED staff. By the end of the meeting, the group had written a revised workshop manual, ready for use at the other LECs. A plan was also made to create a special "training of trainers' program.

Since then, the workshop has become a regular part of the AED-LEC offerings and also has been borrowed by other agencies in Thailand for their use. In 1978, the workshop was implemented in all twelve existing LECs, following a "training of trainers" program conducted mainly by staff from the LECs which held the workshop in 1977. In addition, it was adapted for use by the Girl Guides and by

the Community Development Department of the Ministry of Interior.

The popularity of the youth and development workshop may be related to its visible results--projects--after a fairly short program. However, the necessary ingredients for achieving "success" during the two week program needs more consideration. Also, the program should be assessed in terms of its long-term effect on learners.

Summary of Basic Features

The major components of the youth and village development workshop program can be summarized as follows:

1) Facilitators committed to villager-initiated development and well-trained in "learning by doing" methods.

2) Participants, with some schooling, from one village or a number of adjacent villages, interested in improving themselves and their communities.

3) A workshop program which a) includes structured activities related to information and occupational skills acquisition and to "processes" (e.g., problem-solving, planning, goal setting, etc.); and b) emphasizes collective post-workshop action-taking.

4) A village-based site for the workshop program.

5) Community support for the participants' planned projects.

6) Human resources and facilities to utilize in the workshop, including guest speakers, occupational skills instructors, and skills-related equipment.

The dimensions of the Indonesian Learning Groups and the Thai Workshops programs are summarized in table 2.

TABLE 2

DIMENSIONS OF THE INDONESIAN AND THAI NFE PROGRAMS

Dimensions	Indonesian Learning Groups	Thai Workshops
General Objective	To enable participants to "learn how to learn," solve problems, develop productive skills, and contribute to village development	To promote participant action-taking for self and village development
Structure	Autonomous, unstructured learning groups, meeting weekly; learners increasingly determined what and how they wanted to learn	Two-week workshop of pre-structured, but open-ended, activities
Setting	Villagers' homes	Village center
Role of the Learners	Exercised decision-making power with the facilitator on all aspects of the program; initiated new activities; discussed actively; identified and sought out resources	Learners' lives were made the "subject" of structured activities; discussed and participated actively, and shared some leadership roles
Role of the Facilitator(s)	Group leader; resource person; "process" guide; contact with outside resource persons	"Process" guide for activities; question asker and problem-poser; activity planner and identifier/contact with outside resources
Relationship between the Learners and Facilitator(s)	Non-hierarchical; increasingly equal as the program progressed	Somewhat hierarchical, but attempting to reduce this kind of relationship; open, sharing all experiences
Needs Assessment	Initially based on the planners' perceptions; subsequently identified by learners in each group on an on-going basis	Based on planners' perceptions
Curriculum Development	On-going, emergent, open-ended; objectives and activities developed from one session to the next	Basic topics and activities pre-set; however, learners encouraged to discuss own lives in response to the activities

TABLE 2--Continued

Dimension	Indonesian Learning Groups	Thai Workshops
Content	Determined by learners; four general areas: information of interest, vocational skills learning, village development, and recreation; learners identified own human and organizational learning resources; emphasis on interplay of action and reflection	Related to circumstances and problems in the learners' lives, including vocational skills; processes such as planning and problem-solving; information of interest to the learners; group dynamics and team work; communication
Materials	Radio serial dramas, handouts and charts (made or obtained by the facilitators); resource person talks; bulletin produced by the facilitators and learners of a number of groups	Structured group exercises; newsprint; magic markers; handouts; camera (preferably a Polaroid, for immediate results), etc.
Methods	Small group discussion and action taking	"Learning by doing" (experience--analysis and understanding--application); small group discussion; team projects
Outcomes	Increased autonomy and confidence; ability to identify and use learning resources and to solve problems; specific advances in income-producing abilities; involvement in community leadership; participation in village development activities; growth of group solidarity	Development of simple vocational skills; acquisition of problem-solving, planning, cooperation, and communication capabilities; completion of planned group action projects for village development; expressed desire for continued involvement with such efforts

CHAPTER VI

LESSONS FROM THE CASE STUDIES

The Indonesian and Thai programs described in Chapter V demonstrate some of the potential of NFE as an empowering process. Despite limitations, both programs made learners aware that they could intervene in certain societal forces and capacitated them to do so.

In Indonesia, the autonomous learning groups organized ways to meet members' needs and to solve members' problems, such as socializing with their peers or discovering ways to augment their incomes. The groups also increased their influence in the resolution of community problems. They initiated their own community improvement projects and were invited to join existing village leadership groups. In addition, some groups realized unique gains in understanding and control, such as the group which came up against the workings of the local bank.

As a result of the Thai workshop, learners saw that they could have a greater effect on the direction of their own lives and their communities. They planned ways to increase their incomes through growing new agricultural products or raising livestock. Through planning and implementing community improvement projects, they also discovered that they could help solve village problems and that fellow villagers were willing to support their efforts.

The Chiengmai group was especially active after the workshop; it established a much-needed village day-care center, raised funds for village projects, and initiated a variety of other activities. One of the Thai learners summed up the new sense of purpose and efficacy felt by the participants after the workshop, with the comment that: "I now like to get up in the morning."

More can be learned about NFE for empowering in Third World settings through a comprehensive analysis of the Indonesian and Thai cases. The eight general characteristics of an empowering process, deduced in Chapter IV, will serve as the framework for this analysis. Both programs will be examined in relation to each of the characteristics, in order to surface insights, issues, and problems relevant to other NFE efforts.

In addition, the concern for cultural appropriateness raised at the beginning of Chapter III will be addressed. While the author does not presume to be an expert on either Indonesian or Thai culture, the case study analysis must also consider specific cultural patterns and dynamics in relation to the characteristics of an empowering process. For the most part, more attention will be given to Thai than Indonesian culture, since the author is relatively more familiar with the former. Though the cultural factors considered emerge from Asian contexts, the kinds of concerns they represent may be applicable to other Third World settings as well.

At the end of the chapter, recommendations will be made related to designing nonformal education programs to promote empowering.

Small Group Structure

The Indonesian and Thai programs utilized different small group structures: autonomous, on-going learning groups and a semi-residential two-week workshop. However, both programs included learners in their late teens/early twenties, most of whom were school drop-outs, and intentionally fostered the growth of group identity and collective activity by learners. This section focuses on these areas of group composition and group development, including a consideration of the two alternative structures.

Composition

In Indonesia and Thailand, program planners assumed that learners would be motivated to participate if the learning groups and workshops were composed of individuals of similar age and with similar interests. Some evidence exists to support the validity of that assumption. Learning group members and workshop participants both enjoyed the opportunity to socialize with their peers and developed a strong pride in their groups. The Indonesian learners had a good attendance record, with more drop-ins than drop-outs, and the Thais expressed a high degree of satisfaction with the program in their post-workshop evaluations.

Judging by the learners' reactions, the similar age/interest group composition does appear to have motivated participation. In these two Asian settings, the groups provided an important forum for young people to interact with members of the opposite sex. Other factors, especially the programs' focus on learners' own problems

and encouragement of learner autonomy, probably also contributed to the high levels of participation and satisfaction.

While similar-age groups appear to stimulate participation, cross-age groups may have a greater potential for achieving the ultimate goal of empowering, ie., increased understanding of and control over societal forces. The young adults in Indonesia and Thailand took some action in their communities, none of which really challenged existing structures or relationships. More critical action-taking might be encouraged in cross-age groups. These groups would probably include more varied perspectives on local problems and involve people in the community who have the power to influence change. The Ecuador project discussed in"Education for Justice" (Chapter IV) used cross-age groups for the reasons just noted. The successes of this project in promoting critical action-taking may have been influenced by group composition as well as by the project's explicit emphasis on consciousness-raising.

However, in Asia, the status inherent in age is stressed more than in Latin America. Thus, young adults tend to defer to their elders when decisions are made. A cross-age group, therefore, might limit young people's input and the opportunity to meet their own needs, even if it contributed to building village solidarity for change.

Both similar and cross-age groups seem to offer certain advantages and disadvantages to empowering, depending on the context in which they function. In Asia, generally, groups composed of young adults can be said to motivate participation but to usually lack

some of the power needed to affect significant change. On the other hand, cross-age groups may promote such change but inhibit the participation of younger members. The potential of both kinds of groups to support empowering needs to be studied further.

Two other factors of group composition relate to empowering: differing abilities of group members and the use of new vs. existing groups. The Indonesian and Thai programs both included learners with different levels of schooling, which caused a few problems. In Thailand, for example, some learners could not write as well as others. Such differences can undermine the effectiveness of a particular learning activity and may jeopardize group solidarity. When major differences in ability exist, therefore, efforts should be made to use learning activities which all can do and/or to enable those with lesser abilities to improve.

Concerning the use of new vs. existing groups, the Indonesian and Thai programs created new ones. In Indonesia, the groups have become well-established, in some cases functioning for over two years. But, in Thailand, it is questionable whether the groups will still be in existence a year or two after the workshop. Building on existing community groups or organizations might increase the likelihood of sustained group activity; at the same time, an existing group may have difficulty in shifting purposes. In any case, the strengthening of capabilities of existing groups, which are already oriented toward empowering, warrants further examination.

Group Development

In the "considerations for effectiveness" related to "enabling communities to take control" (Chapter IV), a "maturational view of group life" was presented. The view holds that community groups develop through a number of stages: social group (informal discussion; socialializing); interest group (coalescing around a particular issue); organized group (interested in community problems); and institutional group (able to relate to other organizations and to draw on experience and resources). Actually successful groups do not graduate from one stage to the next, but rather expand to take on the additional functions of the more advanced stages.

For NFE to promote empowering, it must support the development of groups through the "organized" and "institutional" stages, levels which represent viable means for change. The Indonesian and Thai programs both emphasized a combination of social and interest group functions, but only the Indonesian program actively supported movement to the upper two group levels. While the Thai leaners just began to be "organized groups," the Indonesians fully became "organized groups" and partly became "institutional groups."

The contrast of group development between the Indonesian and Thai programs is attributable to differences in structure. In Indonesia, the weekly learning groups meetings provided an on-going framework for organized group effort. The groups had the freedom to decide what and how they wanted to learn, so they began as social/interest groups: planning recreational activities and

pursuing immediate interests of the members. After meeting for a number of months, they continued their previous activities, but also became more aware of and involved in community development; this in turn lead to their being recognized as a "group" by their community.

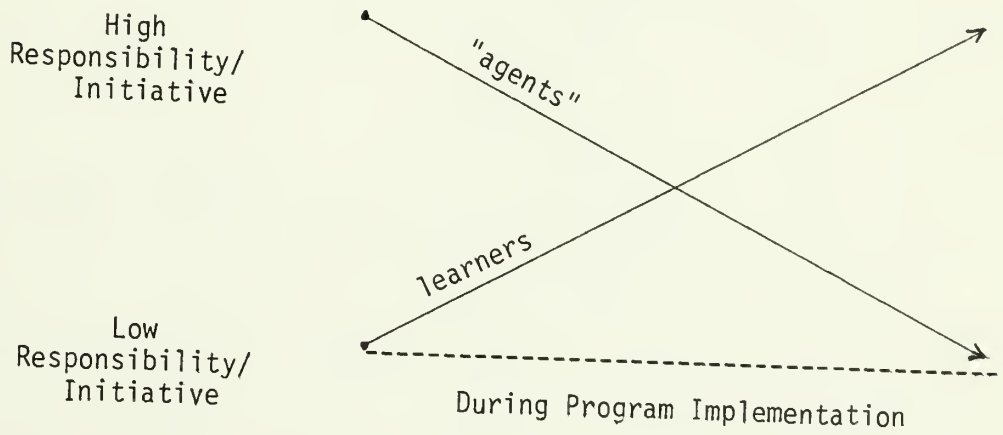
In contrast, the Thai youth and village development workshop offered a short, but intensive preparation to enable participants to create their own organized activities after the program. The preparation emphasized skills development (group dynamics; cooperation; communication; selected vocational skills) and team-building (group recreation; creation of problem-solving groups to plan and implement village improvement projects). While the Thai workshop only prepared the participants to function as autonomous groups, the Indonesian learning groups were fairly autonomous from the outset.

On the whole, the learning groups structure seems more supportive of group development, and thus of empowering. The learning groups regular meetings and autonomy provided the time required for an "institutional group" to evolve. The workshop, on the other hand, only set this maturational process in motion. A workshop, however, does offer the opportunity to develop specific skills needed for effective group activity. Therefore, a combination of the two structures might suggest a stronger alternative for empowering. For example, learning groups might be enhanced by "orientation workshops" in group process or by occasional "mini-workshops" in skill areas identified by facilitators or participants, such as discussion techniques or planning. Or, groups which complete a workshop (as in

the Thai program) could then become community learning groups. Learning groups plus workshop(s) would constitute an effective small group structure for NFE as an empowering process.

Transfer of Responsibility

Over the course of an empowering process, the shift of responsibility and initiative from outside agent to participants, can be visualized as follows:[1]



In the Indonesian and Thai programs, this transfer occurred on two levels: from staff (planners) to facilitators and from facilitators to learners. The following discussion addresses important considerations for encouraging the transfer.

Time and Opportunity

"Participatory approaches" (Chapter IV) operate on the "take-over principle:" they prepare people to assume responsibility and then allow them to do so. This process also characterizes "community

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[1]The author is indebted to Dr. Bernard Wilder for suggesting the above diagram.

organization," which follows a general sequence: gradual entry of organizer; catalyst to bring people together and raise issues; organization and/or training; to local autonomy (see table 1). In each case, the transfer involves the transition from a structure "imposed" on participants to one which becomes "owned" by them.

Both the Indonesian and Thai programs generally followed the sequence described above, but the shift from "imposed" to "owned" occurred more completely in the Indonesian case. Two factors, in particular, account for this success: time and opportunity.

In Indonesia, the transfer of responsibility from staff to facilitators and facilitators to learners happened gradually. Over a five-month period, facilitators slowly expanded their roles (e.g., to include materials development tasks) and attended monthly "support" meetings to reinforce their efforts. Within the learning groups, facilitators increasingly shared responsibility with group members and eventually created a fairly equal partnership for determining the groups' purposes and activities. They never completely withdrew from their facilitator roles but in a number of cases almost became "just one of the group." This may have been possible because facilitators were about the same age as the participants and some had been recruited from the local community (the impact of facilitator-learner status differences is discussed more fully in the next section).

In addition, the Indonesia program utilized an "emergent design," in which activities developed from learners' immediate

interests. Thus, the learning groups supported learner ownership of the program by providing: sufficient time for the learners to become capable of "taking over" and a mechanism by which they could actually do so.

In contrast, the Thai program involved a more abrupt transfer of responsibility and utilized a pre-planned program. Trainers were on their own after a single workshop try-out, and learners were on their own after the two-week workshop program. The workshop attempted to prepare learners for assuming responsibility for post-workshop activity, by using a series of prepared exercises in which learners were the "do-ers" and by having them plan post-workshop projects. However, facilitators and learners did not contribute to program design or operation. Facilitators finally gained a sense of program ownership when they played a major role in revising the workshop manual for national use (following implementations in their provincial centers). Learners, on the other hand, felt they owned only the projects they had planned. Thus, a complete transfer of responsibility did not occur, and empowering was inhibited.

The above discussion indicates that the shift from an "imposed" to an "owned" program is more likely to occur when the transition is gradual, rather than abrupt, and when learners are involved in actually creating the program.

Reduction of Status Differences

As noted earlier, the fact that the learning group facilitators and members were similar in age contributed to the transfer of

responsibility which occurred. Because of the tendency for young people to defer to their elders in most Asian contexts, using facilitators about the same age as learners is probably desirable. However, the Thai program shows that age differences can also be deemphasized.

In Thailand, the facilitators were older than learners and were local adult education officials. However, due to certain factors, this status difference does not appear to have inhibited learner initiative as significantly as the forces of time and opportunity.

An important cultural dynamic in Thailand is the "patron-client" relationship. Generally, a "superior" (in age and position) should be benevolent and an "inferior" should be respectful. In addition, inferiors defer to the perceived wishes of their superiors and do not want to impose difficulties upon them, a dynamic called kriengjai. While the superior-inferior relationship existed to some extent in the Thai workshops, learners spoke and interacted more freely than usually occurs in many other Thai programs. This can be attributed to the facilitators' behavior, which created new norms for the learners, and to the considerable amount of time learners spent in peer groups with facilitators in the background. Research on Thai culture corroborates the evidence that initiative by "inferiors" is affected by the absence of "superiors:"

> Those who state that the passivity of the villager precludes rural self-help ignore both the activities undertaken by the villager without the presence of an authority and the indirect means that the villager has for opposing authorities (Rubin and Rubin, 1973, p. 272).

In different ways, both the Indonesian and Thai programs reduced the status differences between facilitators and learners and thus reduced the potentially limiting effect of these differences on learner initiative. A reduction of superior-inferior relationships appears critical for the "transfer of responsibility" component of an empowering process. Comparing the two programs, the use of facilitators about the same age as learners would seem to be the most effective means for reducing status differences. The two mechanisms used in the Thai program are less dependable; "facilitator behavior" can vary significantly and "peer group activity with the facilitator in the background" may not be sustainable in a program longer than a few weeks. However, if facilitators who are older than the learners must be involved, the methods employed by the Thai program offer useful ideas for reducing status differences.

Participant Leadership

In Third World as well as technologically advanced countries, education is usually prescribed and provided by one group for another. But, NFE as an empowering process involves learners in breaking this traditional dependency and creating learning opportunities by and for themselves. In almost all cases, learners are not prepared for such autonomy. For promoting participant leadership, then, programs should include structured opportunities for learners to develop needed skills and should be rooted in an understanding of learner motivation.

Skills Development

The learning groups, and to a lesser extent, the workshops, were quite successful in promoting participant leadership. The Indonesian learners played a leadership role in all aspects of program development, while the Thai participants led their own task groups and post-workshop activities. However, some problems did exist.

In Thailand, having been conditioned to a passive learner role by schooling, the learners at first were reluctant to participate actively. They were confused by learning activities which required them to think, discuss, and answer questions. Some Indonesian learners had similar reactions, though to a lesser extent because of the program's structure and use of similar age facilitators. In addition, the Indonesian and Thai programs both had some difficulty because learners lacked skills for autonomy. In certain situations, planners or facilitators assumed that learners had skills which in fact they did not have. For example, the Thai workshop required learners to generalize a specific activity's results to their own lives. In some cases, learners did not understand how a connection could be made.

According to experts on other empowering processes, it is typical for participants to feel initial confusion when given opportunity for leadership and to lack the skills needed to fully assume leadership roles. This characteristic is most pronounced in efforts at "equalizing power in work relationships" (Chapter IV), a process especially parallel to nonformal education. In both worker self-management/collaboration and NFE for empowering, participants

must overcome the behavioral condtioning of years of experience in a traditional top-down institution, respectively, industrial plants and formal schools. Since old behaviors are difficult to change, self-management proponents consider the development of new skills to be an important "consideration for effectivness." The kinds of skills they view as essential include: an understanding of the philosophy of self-management and abilities in group discussion, decision-making, and leadership.

The two NFE programs were effective in promoting participant leadership partly because both encouraged the development of such skills. In Indonesia, this occurred mainly by trial and error with facilitators serving somewhat as coaches. Also, one or two members from each group attended the pre-service facilitator training. The Thai workshop focused on developing a number of clearly defined skills (e.g., cooperation and problem-solving) through exercises and through the opportunity to practice new capabilities in small project planning groups.

However, neither program consciously recognized that learners actually need to be prepared for leadership nor did they include a means to deal with deficiencies which emerged, such as the lack of generalizing skills described earlier in the Thai example. Future efforts in NFE as an empowering process could be strengthened if skills development for leadership were a structured part of the program. For example, a program might begin with an orientation focused on differing expectations of learners in schools and learners

in an NFE program that emphasizes participant autonomy. Then, during the program, facilitators and learners might identify needed skills and conduct mini-workshops or practice sessions. In addition, when a problem arose because of a skill deficiency, a "micro-training" exercise could be utilized.

Motivation

Research findings noted in the "considerations for effectiveness" of "enabling communities to take control" (Chapter IV) indicate that participants are motivated by experiencing concrete benefits, which may be: material/immediate; interim/anticipatory; social/interpersonal; or symbolic/status. Usually, participants tend to be interested in short-term results and planners/facilitators care about longer-term outcomes. But the two need not be mutually exclusive.

The overall goal of the Indonesian and Thai programs was to develop groups which would make an on-going contribution to their communities. However, group members were most concerned with meeting their own needs and solving their own problems. The autonomy of the learning groups enabled Indonesian learners to pursue areas most important to them. Similarly, the open-ended exercises in the Thai program afforded learners the chance to gain desired income-producing skills, examine their lives, and plan projects based on their own analysis of community problems. At the same time, however, the learners were becoming the kinds of groups the planners had envisioned.

Planners' terms like "empowering" or "autonomy" are abstract and usually not motivating forces for learners. As the two NFE programs suggest, learners probably will be motivated if they experience self-defined and concrete benefits.

Agent as Facilitator

The role of facilitator requires different attitudes and skills than that of a traditional teacher or instructor. Therefore, selection, training, and style are important issues to consider in developing effective facilitators.

Selection and Training

The "learner-centered" workshop in Indonesia, out of which the learning groups evolved, included five teams of planners from different parts of the country. All were local community education personnel or teacher college staff. After the workshop, four teams made only minor revisions in largely "teacher-centered" programs, but the Lembang team completely reoriented its approach. For their new learning groups program, Lembang planners recruited and trained as facilitators nine community members and community education students from a local teacher college. For the most part, these individuals functioned as effective facilitators. In Thailand, groups of trainers from five provincial centers participated in an initial workshop try-out/training session. After training, four groups returned to their own centers, and only the Chiengmai and Ratburi trainers implemented the workshop program in full.

The Indonesian and Thai experiences lead unavoidably to two major questions: why did only a few Indonesian planners and Thai trainers change after the training? in contrast, why did most of the nine Indonesian facilitators function effectively after their training?

The answer to both questions does not seem to relate to what happened to the planners, trainers, and facilitators during each training program as much as it does to characteristics they possessed before the training. The training programs for the Indonesian planners and Thai trainers both could have been improved, in terms of clarity of presentation, coordination, and the appropriateness of some of the exercises utilized. However, other considerations suggest that even with such changes, the programs might not have been much more effective.

As professional educators, the Indonesian planners and Thai trainers were already accustomed to certain roles. Most had spent years as teachers or instructors and equated education with traditional pedagogy. It is doubtful that a one or two week training program could alter their entrenched attitudes and practices. As for the individuals who did change after the training, the change appears attributable to factors which existed from the outset.

The Lembang planners and Chiengmai/Ratburi trainers were unique in several ways. The Indonesians had been exposed to different approaches to education through their positions at the community education national training center (Jayagiri) and were committed to promoting the welfare of local villagers. The Chiengmai trainers had

a similar commitment, while those at Ratburi were young, fairly inexperienced, and flexible. Thus, in these three cases, change seems to have occurred because of receptivity or flexibility: 1) a prior commitment existed which the training helped translate into action and 2) the lack of firmly entrenched role behaviors, because of limited experience, made change possible.

The significance of these two factors is further validated by the case of the Indonesian facilitators. For the most part, these nine individuals functioned effectively. Notably, they were not only trained for their positions, but recruited according to certain criteria as well. The criteria included attitudes favorable to village-level initiative and attributes related to role flexibility.

Analysis of the Indonesian and Thai programs indicates that the existence of certain characteristics before training seems to be just as important for developing facilitators as what happens during the training. If individuals begin the training with rigid role attitudes and behaviors, they are unlikely to change. However, if they have attitudes and attributes receptive to new roles, training can serve as a means to develop concrete skills. Therefore, selection is a particularly critical factors to consider for "agent as facilitator." Individuals should be identified on the basis of particular characteristics, such as an interest in encouraging village initiative or rapport with community members. In some cases, however, this may not be possible. Staff members in government adult or community education programs, in particular, are often a "given," i.e., teachers or local education officials. If these individuals are utilized, the facilitator

role may need to be conceptualized a bit differently, as described in the following section.

Non-Directive vs. Directive Facilitators

The concept of facilitator usually emphasizes non-directive behaviors, such as "process guide" or "resource person" (see "Summary of Characteristics of Community Organization," Chapter IV). When teachers or education officials are utilized, efforts should be made to find individuals who are not strongly authoritarian. However, even such individuals are likely to have status differences with learners because of their position, if not age, and to be viewed as authority figures. If this situation exists, the effect of the facilitators' authority can be reduced by structuring a program in a certain way and by using the facilitators' authority to encourage learner initiative. The Thai workshop demonstrates both mechanisms.

First, workshop exercises were designed to put trainers in a low-key role. In a sense, the structure of the exercises forced the trainers to function as facilitators, since the exercises required participants to work on their own. Some post-exercise discussions became lectures, but this problem might have been solved through more rigorous training in the art of questioning.

Second, the trainers used their authority to sanction new participant norms and behaviors. While this seems a contradiction of terms, it may not be in the Thai context. In the "superior-inferior" relationship which traditionally exists between a teacher and student (or trainer and trainee), the teacher usually dictates

what the student should do. If a relationship of unequal status exists, perhaps a teacher must tell students to participate in order for them to begin to do so. Thus, in such a context, "agent as facilitator" ironically might require directive behavior, rather than the non-directive approach usually associated with facilitation. However, in a program longer than the Thai workshop, directive behavior might inhibit empowering because real learner autonomy could not develop.

Ideally, an NFE for empowering program would select and train individuals to be non-directive facilitators as did the Indonesian program. If "authority figures" must be utilized, as in Thailand, they can probably function fairly effectively as facilitators if: 1) they receive some training; 2) the program is structured to minimize the facilitator's potential dominance; and 3) the program is of short duration. However, empowering would be limited even under these conditions. As discussed earlier in this chapter, a short-term program does not provide enough time for a "transfer of responsibility" to occur. Thus, the use of "authority figures" as facilitators should be avoided if possible.

Democratic and Non-Hierarchical Relationships and Processes

Though the Indonesian and Thai programs took place under the umbrella of organizations which tended to emphasize fairly traditional approaches to education, both programs were successful to some extent in de-emphasizing hierarchical teacher-student relationships and in

sharing control with learners. This section examines how this was possible.

Organizational Constraints and Support

An important "consideration for effectiveness" in worker "self-management"and "collaboration"(Chapter IV) is the commitment of managers to the value and importance of worker control. Likewise, in Indonesia and Thailand, it was the commitment of planners to some degree of learner control which was responsible for the development of the new "empowering" approaches. Within traditional, hierarchical organizations, in both Third World or technologically advanced contexts, such a commitment may in fact be a prerequisite for introducing nonformal education as an empowering process.

The Indonesian planners became clear about their commitment to learner control as a result of a workshop on "learner-centered" methods. In Thailand, one member of the planning group supported learner control from the outset and other members grew in their commitment as the program evolved. The two sets of planners confronted different organizational constraints and supports for putting their commitments into action.

In Indonesia, the planners were based at the community education division national training center, located many miles from their superiors in Jakarta ministry offices. One of the planners was the director of the center; and funds for the learning groups program came from a development assistance organization outside Indonesia. These three factors gave the planners considerable freedom to experi-

ment. Actually, the program was separate from other community education activities, and therefore did not have to conform to the existing more traditional educational practices. As a result, the program was able to develop open, horizontal relationships amongst planners, facilitators, and learners, and to include everyone in programmatic decision-making.

In contrast, the Thai planners were located at the adult education division's ministry headquarters in Bangkok. While the division director's support for the program smoothed the way for its acceptance, the planners had to fit their commitments to certain programmatic "givens:" the requirement for a pre-planned program; a two-week time frame; and five groups of trainers with minimal experience in participatory educational methods. Because of these "givens," the planners had to utilize an outwardly more hierarchical and less egalitarian structure than did the Indonesians. However, by choosing a workshop structure, they enabled some learner control to occur. Though the workshop design met the three basic requirements, it still represented a divergence from the approach of most other Thai adult education division offerings, mainly classroom-type learning activities.

The following examples show more specifically how the Thai program reduced hierarchical relationships and promoted shared control. In both Chiengmai and Ratburi, trainers lived in the village with trainees during the program. This sharing of time outside the formal workshop helped break role stereotypes between trainers and trainees. Also, the trainers encouraged and rewarded learners for stating their opinions and taking leadership roles amongst their peers. In addition,

the trainers gave considerable autonomy and decision-making authority to participants in the small group sessions which comprised the bulk of the workshop. For instance, exercises were intentionally open-ended to enable the participants to assume responsibility and to make certain decisions on their own.

In both Indonesia and Thailand, the NFE programs developed within educational organizations not generally supportive of learner control in their existing programs. However, mainly because of the commitment of planners, the learning group and workshop approaches were able to develop. In addition, the independence of the planners in Indonesia and the support of the adult education division director in Thailand were important positive influences on program development. Conditions such as these appear necessary for introducing NFE approaches which promote empowering into organizations which do not emphasize this goal.

While planners in Indonesia were relatively free to create completely new structures, Thai organizational considerations required planners to fit new structures into the old. Although the relationships and processes which characterized the learning groups probably have a greater potential for empowering, those in the Thai workshop represent a step in the right direction. To promote NFE for empowering in situations where organizational constraints exist, changes in hierarchical relationships and non-participatory processes may have to be made gradually, beginning with modifications such as those in the Thai workshop.

Integration and Reflection and Action

The Indonesian and Thai programs emphasized collective analysis and action-taking related to the learners' needs and problems. In Indonesia, the learning groups functioned as on-going problem-solving bodies, whereas the Thai program prepared learners for joint problem-solving activities following the workshop. To promote problem-solving, both utilized an experiential learning process. Some considerations for the effective use of experiential learning are explored here.

Experiential Learning

Basically, experiential learning follows this sequence: experience-analysis-understanding-application. Based on interests or problems which they identified, members of each of the nine Indonesian learning groups generated their own learning experiences, such as inviting a doctor to a meeting to discuss family planning or seeking resources for learning a vocational skill. After a group had an experience, the facilitator then helped members to analyze and understand what had happened. From this discussion, group members defined their next course of action. Thus, the groups evolved a continuing cycle of reflection and action.

Once the problem-solving process had begun, it continued on its own momentum. For example, one group of learners first recognized a common need to increase members' income. They then decided to learn bamboo carving and market their products, which led them to consider problems related to finding learning resources, financing, and

marketing. Out of each problem that was solved, new problems and needs arose. Throughout, the learning groups served as support groups for tackling their emergent concerns.

In contrast to the Indonesians, Thai learners did not generate their own experiences, but participated in a series of structured exercises. However, these exercises were open-ended, enabling participants to utilize them to examine their own concerns. The general topic of each activity was pre-determined, with the actual subject matter the participants' collective experience. For example, in an activity on cooperation, the issues considered were derived from what the participants actually did together.

Generally, each Thai exercise followed the same experiential learning sequence as in Indonesia. Learners first participated in an experience, either artificially created (such as a game) or based on a real situation (such as a "problem identification" trip to local villages). Next, with the guidance of the trainers, they analyzed what occurred and reached their own conclusions. Finally, they identified future implications, in terms of principles to follow or plans for action. Unlike the Indonesians, however, the Thais did not apply their learning to real-life problem-solving activities until after the workshop.

As a means to promote empowering, the less-structured Indonesian approach to experiential learning seems more advantageous. In Indonesia, the learners developed a pattern of reflecting and acting upon real-life problems from the outset. Through this practice, they would be able to do so even after the program ended. The Thais

practiced the experiential learning process under more artificial conditions, making the application of the action-reflection cycle to their real life situations more difficult. Thus, the conclusion tentatively can be made that the focus of learning experiences should be based on interests and problems identified by the learners themselves. Ideally, the actual experiences would also be created by the learners, but in some cases, they could be structured by facilitators. For example, if learners had a problem in group discussion, the facilitator could utilize an exercise for practice.

While the Indonesian and Thai programs utilized experiential learning in somewhat different ways, two common problems arose in both contexts: the first concerns a lack of in-depth analysis of experiences and the second involves the use of learning activities which are "fun."

The phrase "integration of reflection and action" is often used in relation to Freire's process for developing critical consciousness (discussed in "Education for Justice," Chapter IV). Critical analysis of problems is important for empowering, because it can lead to action which confronts the causes, rather than the symptoms, of a problem. Freire's approach structures learning to challenge existing views of reality and to identify sources of problems in socio-political systems. For the most part, neither of these processes occurred in the learning groups or workshop. Learners tended to plan how to solve a problem, like unemployment, without considering the causes of that problem, such as the reasons they were unemployed after five or more years of schooling. In this example, while finding a sourse of income is a valid and immediate problem, empowering would also involve a

consideration of and action related to the ineffectiveness of schooling.

Eventually, a collective problem-solving process may naturally stimulate critical analysis. For instance, when the Indonesian group which sought financing for their bamboo products business was turned down for a bank loan, members began to think about the workings of banks and money-lenders. However, since the growth of critical consciousness contributes to empowering, it should be nourished more intentionally. Rigorous training of facilitators in problem-posing and questioning might be what is needed. With additional skills, facilitators could evoke a deeper analysis of learners' experiences, and thus promote more critical reflection and action.

The use of experiential learning activities which are "fun," such as learning games, is a double-edged sword. In Thailand, in particular, such activities motivated learner participation but also involved learners so fully that they were unable to stand back and analyze what happened. Sanook is the Thai word to describe an experience which is enjoyable and pleasurable, and it is an important motivator for involvement. In the workshop, participants were in fact, most interested in activities which provoked laughter and lively interaction. However, the learners were sometimes so highly energized that they were reluctant to discuss these activities. This problem can probably be solved by giving post-exercise discussion more structure (and preceding it with a break) and including some purely "fun" activities or recreational periods in the program. Recognizing that NFE is usually voluntary, the effective use of "fun" activities is an important consideration.

Methods Which Encourage Self-Reliance

Self-reliance means trusting to one's own power, breaking existing dependency relationships, and developing capabilities for independent and interdependent action. The Indonesian and Thai programs used several methods which were useful in promoting these capabilities.

Emergent vs. Pre-Planned Design

The major difference between the two NFE programs lay in the emergent design of the Indonesian learning groups and the pre-planned design of the Thai workshop. Earlier in this chapter, "emergent design" was already identified as a factor which facilitates the "transfer of responsibility." It also encourages self-reliance.

Any new capabilities or skills are gained through actual use and reinforcement of that use. In Indonesia, self-reliant capabilities developed through such a process. A weekly meeting time and prepared radio broadcasts provided the initial framework for the learning groups. But, from the outset, each group was free to discuss and take whatever actions members wanted. This freedom catalyzed the groups to actually prepare their own curricula. More specifically, they: conducted their own needs assessment (on an on-going basis); sought out learning resources; defined topics for radio broadcasts and prepared learning materials; planned and implemented projects; conrributed to a monthly learning groups bulletin; and evaluated their efforts.

Through these activities, group members developed concrete skills in needs and resource identification, discussion, analysis, problem-solving, working cooperatively, planning, and communicating with authorities. Thus, learners not only learned about a particular subject. They learned how to learn. Involvement in the learning groups enabled members to develop abilities for lifelong learning. In addition, the groups pursued activities which developed skills for income producing and collective community action, also needed for self-reliance.

In contrast, the Thai workshop attempted to build self-reliance through a pre-planned program. In the workshop, the participants were essentially in a dependent position. They learned skills for self-reliance, but had only a limited opportunity to apply them. Small group exercises used problem-posing materials and encouraged participants to express themselves. Some exercises emphasized specific skills related to self-reliance, such as income-production and planning. In addition, recreational activities and creative small group presentations, such as puppet shows, supported team-building.

As a result of these activities, participants gained more self-confidence, a few useful skills, and a sense of comradeship with their fellow learners. In addition, evaluations conducted a few months after the workshops indicated that the participants had completed their planned projects and initiated some other activities. While these results are significant, the impact of the workshop methods on producing sustained self-reliant behavior can be questioned.

Learners did not have sufficient reinforced practice for developing new capabilities.

The potential of a pre-planned program for encouraging self-reliance might be enhanced by involving participants in programmatic decision-making. For instance, participants could assess their own needs and set a program's topics. Or, a participant council could meet daily with trainers to discuss program revisions and administrative matters. However, the program would have to be longer than two weeks, in order to provide enough time for learners to internalize certain self-reliant capabilities.

Comparing the emergent and pre-planned designs, the former seems more likely to foster self-reliance, and thus empowering. An emergent design enables learners to fully acquire self-reliant capabilities through extensive exercise of self-reliant behavior. However, if more structure is required in a particular program, the Thai workshop provides ideas for other methods which make some contribution to self-reliance.

Process Skills

The kinds of capabilities needed for self-reliance are not usually promoted in current approaches to nonformal education. The Indonesian and Thai programs were unique in this respect. Rather than emphasizing only the acquisition of information and vocational skills, these programs enabled participants to learn processes. Specific examples of process skills included in the two programs and the techniques through which they were promoted have already been presented in the preceding section. Such skills and techniques can

usefully be incorporated into other NFE programs which aim to encourage self-reliance.

Improvement of Social, Economic, and/or Political Standing

As defined in Chapter III, empowering is:

> People gaining an understanding of and control over social, economic, and/or political forces in order improve their standing in society.

Thus, "understanding" and "control" are not ends in themselves, but rather means to the end of improved standing in society. The Indonesian and Thai programs raise issues about how this goal can be measured and restrictions on its realization.

Measurement

Assessment of empowering necessarily involves two parts: first, a somewhat short-term evaluation of advances in understanding and control; second, a longer-term evaluation of the contribution of that understanding and control to improved standing. The Indonesian and Thai programs focused on only the first part of assessment. The two programs applied simple evaluation instruments, which yielded data indicating learners had made some advances in understanding and controlling forces in their lives.

In Indonesia, assessment of the program's impact on learners was mainly based on facilitator observation and on discussion between planners and learners. Through these processes, facilitators and planners kept track of changes in the learners: their taking increased responsibility in their learning groups; initiating income-producing

activities or community development projects; surveying local resources, etc. The Thai program used questionnaires to determine change in learner attitude and used both observation and follow-up interviews to assess behavioral change. Generally, the findings showed that learners were willing to take action to improve their lives and their communities and that they had completed most of their planned projects.

Evaluations of the two programs provided a rough idea of the increased understanding and control learners had gained. However, neither program attempted to assess the effect of these changes on improved standing. While the lack of more comprehensive program assessment can be attributed to many factors, it is due in part to an absence of indicators. The "social gains" presented in Chapter III suggest indicators representative of "improved standing." The use of such indicators would enable a more rigorous appraisal of program effectiveness and a comparison of different programs. For example, the strengths and weaknesses of two programs could be compared in terms of their effect on increasing "access" (greater opportunities to obtain resources), "leverage" (augmented collective bargaining strength) and "status" (enhanced self-image). Such indicators need to be applied over a period of years to assess real changes in learners' economic, social, and/or political positions.

The need to develop indicators to determine the effect of NFE on empowering is evident. In terms of empowering, however, the question of who defines those indicators is also important. An empowering process emphasizes participant autonomy and control. Ideally, therefore, learners should be involved in defining and

assessing gains in empowering. But the earlier discussion on "participant leadership" in this chapter pointed out another factor to be considered. Planners are often interested in the long-range results of a program, whereas participants are interested in immediate benefits.

Recognizing both the importance of learner control to empowering and the learner tendency just noted, a few recommendations can be made. Learners themselves should determine a program's specific objectives and monitor their achievements. At the same time, planners can assess the higher-order objective of empowering. They should also make a concerted effort to interest and involve at least some learners in the process, by creating task or advisory groups and by using simple evaluation instruments.

Restrictions

Questions can be raised about both the appropriateness and feasibility of improving societal standing in contexts such as Indonesia and Thailand.

In most Asian contexts, status tends to be ascribed according to age, position, and family, rather than achieved. In Thailand, higher status is also associated with virtue and merit related to Buddhist beliefs. However, the two NFE programs demonstrate that the idea of improving one's lot and one's community is not antithetical to either context. An explanation for this seeming contradiction may lie in the meaning of "status" and "standing." Whereas the two terms are fairly synonomous in the West, a distinction can be drawn for

Asian cultures. Status is defined mainly in terms of social structure, but standing refers to economic and political positions. Though high status and standing are very often linked, the possibility exists for people to improve their standing regardless of their status.

While improvements in standing may be culturally acceptable, they may be limited by an uneven balance of power between learners and community members who have a vested interest in the status quo. In 'education for justice" (Chapter IV), an important "consideration for effectiveness" concerns the creation of a "balance of power" between two conflicting parties. Only if such a balance exists will the parties be able to reach a compromise which reflects the needs of both. When a balance of power does not exist, confrontation by the less powerful party may be needed to enhance its position.

In the Indonesian and Thai programs, the learners' problem-solving activities did not conflict with others' vested interests. However, learners could conceivably be faced with a situation in which their potential gains did in fact conflict with the interests of a more powerful party, such as a local government official. If such circumstances arose, the use of confrontation would be unlikely. Basically, the two cultures tend to avoid open conflict. Confrontation has been employed by some groups in Asian contexts, such as squatters in the Philippines (see "Social Action" Chapter IV), but only in reaction to grossly oppressive conditions. In most cases, people would probably seek other means to solve a problem, and if that failed, possibly leave the problem unsolved.

Importantly, people might also hesitate to engage in confrontation because of fear of reprisal by authorities. NFE as an empowering process must therefore allow people the freedom to choose not to do, as well as to do. Ultimately, an empowering process trusts in people's abilities to collectively weigh risks and potential benefits, and to decide what is best for themselves.

Conclusions

The Indonesian and Thai programs represent different approaches to NFE for empowering, a learning process ideally "by" and "for" the learners themselves. In a sense, the Indonesian learning groups approach can be considered an innovative and full-blown attempt at empowering, while the Thai workshop demonstrated how empowering can be promoted under more restricted conditions. Analysis of the two programs has highlighted some useful lessons for NFE as an empowering process. They are presented as considerations for program development:

1. Small group structure can be composed of similar-age or cross-age learners and can be created from new or already existing groups. Each choice has advantages and disadvantages for empowering. Empowering emphasizes collection action, which requires a group to be at a certain stage of development. The Indonesian learning groups provided the necessary time and framework for this maturational process to occur. The Thai workshop method enabled participants to gain concrete skills for working together. A combination of both approaches could strengthen the potential of NFE for empowering.

2. Transfer of responsibility requires sufficient time and opportunity for learners to "own" the program. In Indonesia, this was facilitated by a gradual transitional process and by the involvement of learners in program development. The transfer also requires reducing status differences between facilitators and learners through emphasizing autonomous peer group learning and ideally, through using facilitators about the same age as the learners.

3. Participant leadership usually must be learned, because learners have been conditioned to be passive by schooling. Active learner participation can be promoted through sharing control and through skills practice sessions. It is also a function of the benefits learners perceive that the program provides or will provide.

4. Agent as facilitator requires not only appropriate training, but careful selection. In Indonesia and Thailand, effective facilitators appear to have had attitudes and attributes receptive to learner control before training. Training enables such individuals to put their attitudes into action. If more traditionally-oriented individuals are a "given," however, programs can be consciously structured in ways which minimize the effect of their authority.

5. Democratic and non-hierarchical relationships and processes diverge from most current practices in nonformal education and therefore need certain supports to be accepted in most organizations. In Indonesia and Thailand, these supports included commitment of planners, planner autonomy, and approval by superiors.

6. Integration of reflection and action can be encouraged through experiential learning processes, based on actual problems and needs in the learners' lives. In-depth analysis of problems is important for empowering and can be encouraged if facilitators are rigorously trained in questioning techniques which evoke examination of causes.

7. Methods which promote self-reliance are most effectively represented by an emergent, rather than pre-planned, program design, such as in Indonesia. Emergent design enables learners to become self-reliant by actually practicing being self-reliant. Capabilities for self-reliance are "process skills" which relate to how to acquire information, how to utilize skills, and how to solve problems.

8. Improvement in social, economic, and/or political standing is the long-term objective toward which empowering is oriented. Indicators are needed for assessing "improvement in standing." Learners should be involved in creating these indicators. Certain cultural and political constraints may inhibit advances in standing, but learners themselves should decide when to push for gains and when to accept restrictions.

In Chapters IV-VI, much has been learned about the requirements for NFE as an empowering process. The general characteristics of an empowering process were identified and some specific recommendations for applying these characteristics to Third World nonformal education have been suggested. The final chapter of this study will turn to the future: how to utilize what has been learned to create other nonformal education programs to promote empowering.

C H A P T E R V I I

NONFORMAL EDUCATION TOWARDS EMPOWERING

A role for nonformal education adapted to 'another development' has been proposed and developed. This final chapter will summarize the characteristics of nonformal education as an empowring process; consider its overall potential and limitations; and present guidelines for its implementation in other settings.

Characteristics of Nonformal Education as an Empowering Process

Based on an examination of four empowering processes (Chapter IV) and the discussion of NFE programs in Indonesia and Thailand representative of empowering approaches (Chapters V and VI), characteristics of NFE as an empowering process can be defined.

Generally, NFE for empowering is an educational approach which enables learners to gain greater understanding of and control over social, economic, and/or political forces through: 1) exercising a high degree of control over all aspects of the learning process; 2) learning both "content" and "process" skills responsive to their needs and problems; and 3) working collaboratively to solve mutual problems.

As with other empowering processes, NFE for empowering is distinguished by eight broad characteristics and a certain pattern of events. It begins with a small group structure for learners and an

agent as facilitator, rather than instructor or teacher. Over the course of the group's activities, the facilitator encourages participant leadership; gradually, a major transfer of responsibility for programmatic decision-making from the facilitator to learners occurs. The transfer is also made possible by the program's democratic and non-hierarchical processes and relationships. Determining what and how they want to learn, group members develop some of the confidence and skills needed for collective action-taking. They acquire additional capabilities by participating in activities that strive for an integration of reflection and action, and from methods which promote self-reliance. All the characteristics described above set the process of empowering into motion and sustain its momentum. Eventually, through collective action for meeting needs and solving problems, learners experience certain improvements of social, economic, and/or political standing.

An ideal model of NFE as an empowering process would include the specific programmatic dimensions listed in table 3.

Because of many factors, including organizational constraints or resource limitations, all of the dimensions included in table 3 might not be incorporated in a particular program. Which dimension, therefore, seems most crucial to empowering? The experience of the Indonesian and Thai programs points to the "role of learners"--as decision makers on all aspects of the program and as autonomous problem solving groups--as the key. When learners are encouraged to become self-reliant and then are allowed actually to be self-reliant, other programmatic dimensions necessarily also shift their emphasis. However, the overview of all possible dimensions provides a good checklist for

TABLE 3

PROGRAMMATIC DIMENSIONS OF NFE AS AN EMPOWERING PROCESS

Structure	Emphasis on small group activity and autonomy. Members have a common background and interests, and become a team, with a sense of identity and pride.
Setting/Time	Decided upon by learners; informal meeting place in the learners' communities.
Role of Learners	Collectively exercise decision-making power, in collaboration with the facilitator, on all aspects of the program. Share leadership as well as other roles and responsibilities. Function as a semi-autonomous problem-solving groups.
Role of Facilitator	Supports learners in doing things themselves; helps them to structure their own learning experiences. Ideally, from the community of the learners. Non-directive; skilled at problem-posing and questioning which promotes critical analysis.
Relationship Between Learners and Facilitator	"Teacher-student" status differences de-emphasized. Relationship changes as program progresses: learners become increasingly active and facilitator increasingly less active. Based on mutual respect.
Needs Assessment	Needs arise out of learners' real life problems and interests. Identified through a dialogical process amongst learners, and between learners and facilitator. On-going.
Curriculum Development	On-going, emergent, open-ended. General objectives established at the outset, but specific objectives and "lesson plans" developed from one session to the next.
Suoject Matter	Facilitators help learners develop and examine their problems. Based on this analysis, learners determine what they want to learn and identify the resources to do so. Thus, content includes two areas: 1) "process objectives" related to group problem-solving and 2) "content objectives" related to the information, skills, or community action projects which the learners themselves decide to pursue.

TABLE 3--Continued

Materials	Usually not pre-packaged. Developed by the facilitator and/or learners as a means to stimulate problem identification/analysis; promote self-expression; and support group activities. Includes photos (if possible, Polaroid); audio tapes; stories; a group bulletin; charts; mini-lectures, etc. May use books/booklets as resources and packaged "tools" such as games or experiential learning exercises that: are open ended; promote interaction; and require little guidance.
Methods	Structured small group activities; discussion; skills development sessions; project planning and implementation. Designed to promote peer group development and autonomy, as well as dialogue. "Fun" methods heighten learner motivation.
Evaluation	Learners continually assess their own development and their effect on their communities, and make necessary program revisions. Learners are not evaluated; they are evaluators, in collaboration with the facilitator. Simple tools are utilized, which the learners themselves can apply.

assessing areas in which a program might need to be strengthened.

Forecast of Effectiveness

The above definition of NFE as an empowering process emerged from a literature review and the experience of two small-scale field implementations. From these limited sources, no definite conclusions can be made about the future usefulness of the approach, particularly for longer-term and larger-scale efforts. However, a general forecast of the potential and limitations of the approach is possible.

This study maintains that NFE can contribute to 'another development' by serving as a vehicle for "empowering:"

> People gaining an understanding of and control over social, economic, and/or political forces in order to improve their standing in society.

Only widespread application of NFE as an empowering process and data collection over a period of years will affirm or negate the assumption that empowering contributes to 'another development.' Here, then, the major consideration will be whether NFE can in fact promote empowering.

Chapter III focused in part on internal programmatic factors and external societal conditions which affect the ability of education to influence social change. Recommendations made by LaBelle for change-oriented NFE were suggested as general guidelines for reorienting education's traditional role of supporting the status quo. In addition, the chapter raised concerns about the feasibility of implementing NFE programs consonant with the goals of 'another development' (need oriented; endogenous; self-reliant; ecologically sound; and based on

structural transformations) in national contexts not committed to these goals. Generally, the potential of NFE for empowering seems to relate to the design of the program whereas the most important limitations depend on conditions outside the program.

Potential

Structurally, the educational approach presented in the preceding section is a viable means to promote empowering. This statement is based on the fact that the characteristics of the approach are in agreement with LaBelle's recommendations for change-oriented NFE and on the experience of the Indonesian and Thai programs.

As noted in Chapter III, LaBelle (1976) presented five strategic principles for programming and three areas in which interventions must occur if NFE is to promote social change. Assuming that LaBelle's recommendations are valid, NFE for empowering can be considered a means to change since it incorporates most of them. LaBelle emphasized the importance of: understanding client needs; involving clients in their own learning and in applying new behaviors to their environment; linking a program with the wider system; and recognizing internal and external influences on client incentive (1976, p. 196). In addition, he supported the need for programs to affect not only "ideology," but "technology" and "social organization" as well (pp. 200-208). The characteristics and dynamics of NFE as an empowering process reflect all of LaBelle's concerns to some degree.

The agreement between the NFE for empowering approach and LaBelle's recommendations establishes a theoretical confirmation for the

process' potential to promote change. The programs in Indonesia and Thailand present a more practical validation of this potential.

Neither program was a perfect example of the characteristics of an empowering process, yet both achieved significant results. In the two contexts, young adults, who had been unorganized and somewhat inactive members of their communities, were mobilized to assume initiative for improving their own lives and their communities. The Indonesian program provided an on-going support for the learners' efforts, so its accomplishments may not be so surprising. But, the Thai program was only a two-week preparation and still resulted in some positive outcomes. The two programs indicate the "power" which appears inherent in empowering. When people are prepared and encouraged to become more determining of their futures, plus have the opportunity actually to be more determining, a dormant spirit seems to awaken. Like the Thai participant who "now likes to get up in the morning," learners can experience a profound impact upon their lives.

Basically, the experience of the Indonesian and Thai programs has shown that an NFE for empowering approach: can be utilized by educators; motivates learner participation; does not necessarily conflict with Third World people's cultural tendencies; and results in some degree of learner empowerment.

The actual extent of empowering which occurred in both settings was somewhat limited, due to the many considerations raised in Chapter VI. Of the two, the Indonesia program was more effective because of particular structural and organizational variables also discussed in

the preceding chapter. These variables were taken into account in defining the characteristics of NFE as an empowering process. Generally, NFE's potential for empowering would be high if a program reflected most of the dimensions listed in table 3. The effectiveness of these internal factors, however, may be limited by certain external factors.

Limitations

Besides discussing general requirements for change-oriented education, Chapter II presented some reservations about the effectiveness of education for change in non-supportive national contexts. Specifically, to what extent can NFE empower in political settings not committed or even antagonistic to a more equitable sharing of power and resources? The experience of the Indonesian and Thai programs is also relevant to this question.

While learners in both programs achieved some gains, these gains were not those which significantly altered existing power structures or relationships. This may be attributed to certain programmatic and cultural influences identified in Chapter VI, such as the failure of facilitators to evoke a critical analysis of problems and the general tendency for Indonesians and Thais to avoid overt confrontation. However, the learners' own awareness of political realities might also have limited the gains they chose to pursue. In Indonesia and Thailand, people know that posing real challenges to the political or economic system can have serious consequences. Under such conditions, people themselves must balance the possible risks and sacrifices with achieving a particular gain, and decide what course of action to follow.

Recognizing the restrictions that authorities or learners themselves might impose, empowering would be inhibited in certain contexts. However, empowering should be seen as a continuum, not an end state. In most Third World settings, rural people have limited control over forces in their lives. NFE as an empowering process would enable some advances in control and offer people the opportunity at least to choose between alternative courses of action. People can be strikingly resourceful, too; in certain contexts, they may be able to win support from local authorities for creating particular "mini-transformations."

In countries whose policies do not give priority to a more equitable sharing of power and resources, promoting such change is a difficult task. In the absence of sudden social upheaval, change can be encouraged to occur incrementally as people make some gains, though limited, through their own efforts. NFE as an empowering process can provide a framework for these collective pursuits.

Organizational factors can also mediate the effectiveness of the approach. In Indonesia and Thailand, initiation of the new NFE programs was possible largely because of organizational support: a commitment by planners; the sanction of superiors; and a degree of programmatic flexibility. Within an organizational hierarchy, these factors appear necessary to allow an empowering program to be introduced. Of the three, a "commitment by planners" is probably the most crucial, since a committed planner may be able to secure the other needed supports.

Even one individual with attitudes receptive to empowering can have a strong impact. If he/she can get others just to try a new approach, they often develop a feeling of ownership and accomplishment,

and become "converted." Such conversions happened in the Thai program. Skeptical trainers followed the original workshop plan at the urging of a superior within the organization. After they implemented the program in their own provinces and realized positive results, they then enthusiastically trained trainers for the workshop's second cycle. The lack of any committed planners would jeopardize a program's functioning, and thus, its contribution to empowering.

To summarize this "forecast of effectiveness" for NFE as an empowering process, the structure and methodology of the approach seem practical and capable of promoting desired learner gains. However, this potential is mediated by political and organizational factors which can further enhance, or limit, empowering. Therefore, to predict the effectiveness of a particular NFE program designed to promote empowering, three areas must be examined: programmatic dimensions, organizational supports, and external political influences.

Guidelines for Action

This chapter spelled out the characteristics of NFE as an empowering process and some considerations for its effectiveness. If an educator was interested in applying the approach tomorrow, how would he/she proceed? Here, in conclusion, a series of steps are outlined which program developers can adopt for orienting NFE towards empowering. These steps are suggested to educators in private or governmental organizations for their use in creating programs for rural learners.

Step no. 1: CREATE A SMALL TEAM OF RECEPTIVE PLANNERS.

Nonformal education as an empowering process has a greater potential for effectiveness in some organizational contexts than in others. It is important to initiate the program where certain supports exist, making the chance for success more likely. The sanction and interest of an administrative-level staff member is particularly important, as is a degree of organizational flexibility which allows some innovation.

The initial steps of this sequence assume the presence of a member of the organization or a consultant (local or foreign) who has a good understanding of NFE for empowering. To begin the program development process, he/she would find two to three individuals to be planners; they should: a) have some responsibility for program planning and implementation; and b) be interested in approaches that emphasize active learner involvement and problem-solving. At this preliminary stage, planners do not need to have a full understanding of or commitment to the new approach. This understanding will grow as they implement the program and observe the results. As planners become increasingly self-directing in terms of the approach, the participation of an outside consultant, if one is involved, should decline. The time required for this to occur will vary, and consultants should encourage the planners to work autonomously.

Step no. 2: IDENTIFY/ESTABLISH VILLAGE-LEVEL GROUPS OF LEARNERS.

Collective problem-solving is basic to an empowering process, so village-level groups should be created with this function in mind.

Groups may be composed of either similar-age or cross-age members and may be either newly formed or based on existing groups. Each choice has advantages and disadvantages for empowering. Groups should include about ten to twelve members, and a number of groups should be established in a particular community. Learners can be recruited with the help of community leaders or through local media.

Step no. 3: SELECT AND TRAIN GROUP FACILITATORS.

Facilitators create the potential for empowering in a group and must therefore be carefully selected and trained. Facilitators should be about the same age as learners in similar-age groups. In cross-age groups, the age of the facilitator may vary according to circumstances. But in both kinds of groups, facilitators should be from the same community as learners and receptive to the idea of helping people do things themselves. Educational background and other selection criteria can be set by individual planners. Ideally, facilitators would be recruited from the learners in the groups. If professional educators must be utilized, they should be paired with assistant facilitators chosen from amongst groups members to minimize the effect of the professional's authority. Assistant facilitators should participate in the facilitator training program.

Training helps facilitators put their commitments into action by developing new understandings and skills. Training would be based on these principles:

a) Trainers interact with facilitator-trainees as they in turn are expected to interact with learning group members;

b) Materials, methods, and processes that facilitator-trainees are expected to use with learners are employed;
c) Facilitator-trainees participate actively in: learning experiences and programmatic decision-making/problem-solving;
d) Leadership is shared with facilitator-trainees;
e) Facilitator-trainees examine their attitudes through experiential exercises;
f) Facilitator-trainees develop skills through doing: practice and analysis; and
g) Mini-lectures are included, but interaction amongst all participants is emphasized.

Since facilitators will be responsible for coordinating and guiding their own group's activities, they require skills in all aspects of program development and operation. In terms of content, then, their training would include:

a) The philosophy and purpose of the program;
b) The role of teacher vs. facilitator;
c) Interpersonal skills (e.g., listening);
d) Needs and resource identification;
e) Problem identification and solving;
f) Methods to promote discussion;
g) Questioning to promote critical analysis;
h) Development of simple materials and evaluation tools; and
i) Planning the first few learning sessions.

Step no. 4: ACTIVATE THE LEARNING GROUPS.

The groups may begin in two ways: in group meetings with the individual facilitators or in a residential workshop, jointly planned by facilitators and planners. The workshop would bring together members of three to four groups and serve as a strong impetus for team building. In the workshop, participants would learn group skills (e.g., communication and cooperation); define priority problems and interests; begin to identify learning resources; and plan their groups' initial activities for after the workshop. A workshop would enable the groups to acquire

from the outset some important skills for their functioning and thus enhance their potential for effectiveness. However, if a residential workshop could not be held, individual facilitators could create their own mini-workshop series for skills development.

Step no. 5: ATTEND FACILITATORS' MEETINGS.

In-service training for facilitators would be in the form of a monthly support group meeting, rather than an instructional session. Group meetings should be chaired by the facilitators themselves, with planners serving as resource persons. The meetings would enable facilitators to share information, solve problems, and maintain a common sense of purpose.

Step no. 6: SUPPORT ON-GOING GROUP ACTIVITIES.

After the first few group meetings, group activities are based on an "emergent design." On an on-going basis, learners decide what and how they want to learn, based on their self-identified interests and problems. When the groups enter this stage, planners should serve mainly a material and moral support role. Facilitators may require assistance with materials development or with certain aspects of group process. In addition, they should be encouraged to share all aspects of programmatic decision-making with the learners.

Planners can also help facilitators to anticipate that learner autonomy evolves gradually, largely as a result of learners: experiencing concrete benefits from the program; learning "process" skills for leadership and self-reliance; and having the opportunity to take independent (group) action. Also, groups usually begin with a focus on

personal needs and socializing, then slowly expand to include community concerns. The overall purpose of the groups is to provide a framework through which learners can take action to improve themselves and their communities.

Ideally, the groups would function as continuing problem-solving bodies, in which the solution to one problem poses another.

Step no. 7: PROMOTE RELATIONSHIPS AMONGST GROUPS.

Some problems which group members choose to tackle may stand a greater chance of being solved if groups form coalitions. In addition, members may enjoy the contact with other groups. Depending on the focus of the coalition, educators should be aware that such networking may attract the scrutiny of government authorities.

Step no. 8: CONVENE AN EVALUATION WORKSHOP.

A four to six-month period is needed for group members to develop the skills required for taking major responsibility for their own learning. At that time, a short workshop can be held in which learners and facilitators critically examine what they have done and determine what they would like to do next.

The steps for program development are intended to be clear and concise, and therefore do not reflect all the insights about NFE as an empowering process which emerged from this study. Planners who are interested in implementing such a program are advised to reexamine Chapter VI, particularly the conclusions, and the section in this chapter on the "Characteristics of NFE an Empowering Process."

In addition, the steps encompass only a short time-line and apply mainly to small-scale programming. In a longer-term program, other problems could be expected, such as intragroup conflict as a result of changes in membership. If a program was implemented more widely than within one community, some decentralization of authority would probably be necessary. Provincial or district-level staff of an organization would need to be trained as planners, then allowed to select and train facilitators and to organize learning groups in their own areas. Organizational structures and procedures could pose obstacles to this required decentralization.

This study has answered some questions and raised others about NFE as an empowering process. Additional research is needed, in particular, to identify indicators of empowering; to assess the effectiveness of the approach in a variety of different settings; and to demonstrate further the linkages between empowering and the goals of 'another development.'

NFE as an empowering process represents both a concrete educational approach and a striving. Through the utilization of certain programmatic structures and processes, NFE can enable learners to gain greater control over forces in their lives, thus promoting improved social, economic, and/or political standing. Ultimately, however, empowering is something which is sought but never fully reached. Nonformal education as an empowering process, then, results in definable gains, and just as importantly, creates the momentum for the continued pursuit

of other gains. For individuals, as well as nations, this pursuit is a critical concern in the Third World today:

> The choice is not between change and no change; the choice for Africa [Asia and Latin America] is between changing and being changed--changing our lives under our own direction or being changed by the impact of forces outside our control (Nyerere, 1978).

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Empowering Processes
(Chapters IV-VII)

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES FOR EMPOWERING PROCESSES

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ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES FOR EMPOWERING PROCESSES

In the course of exploring the four empowering processes reviewed in Chapter III, the author identified a number of organizations which are particularly active in each area. These organizations all coordinate and/or document actual field projects and therefore are an excellent source of practical information. Requests may be made to the organizations listed below for information on their activities and publications (most of which must be purchased).

Community Organization

Highlander Research and Education Center Box 370, R.F.D. 3 New Market, Tennessee, 37820	Highlander has been active in promoting the rights and welfare of disadvantaged peoples, particularly Appalachians, for over forty years. Residential workshops are open to interested individuals and a newsletter is available.
ICUIS (Institute on the Church in Urban-Industrial Society) 5700 South Woodlawn Avenue Chicago, Illinois, 60637	A clearinghouse for documentation on efforts to support urban and rural people's struggles for self-determination and justice throughout the world. Publishes a monthly "abstract service;" bibliographies; occasional papers; and other useful resources.
Industrial Areas Foundation 528 North Michigan Avenue Chicago, Illinois, 60611	The foundation conducts training programs in Saul Alinsky's approach to community organization.

Worker Self-Management

Association for Self-Management 1414 Spring Rd., N.W. Washington, D.C., 20010	A network of people interested in studying and implementing workplace democratization. Publishes an informative quarterly newsletter/journal and sponsors U.S. and international conferences.

New School for Democratic Management
256 Sutter Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94108

The New School is a business school committed to worker and community control. It conducts training sessions and produces materials related to particular self-management skills and processes, such as democratic decision-making.

Program on Participation and Labor-Managed Systems
Uris Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York 14853

This group studies and researches many aspects of worker self- management. The program offers degree work in economic participation and labor management. A Documentation Center, to assist other researchers, is currently being established.

Strongforce
2121 Decatur Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C., 20008

Strongforce provides "technical assistance" to worker or community-managed organizations in the Washington, D. C. area. It publishes a monthly newsletter on worker/community economic control in D.C. and a number of useful resource manuals.

Participatory Approaches

Center for International Education
Hills House South
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Mass., 01003

The Center works with nonformal education programs in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and emphasizes participatory learning processes. Publications include both research studies and practical resources for training, materials development, evaluation, etc.

FFHC (Food for Hunger Campaign)/ Action for Development
FAP
00100 Rome, Italy

The organization publishes "Ideas and Action," a lively and visually interesting bulletin which focuses on people's participation in Third World development (available free of charge).

Interamerica Foundation
1515 Wilson Blvd.
Arlington, Virginia

IAF works with development projects in Latin America, which stress people's involvement and control. Case studies are available for some projects.

Participatory Research Project
International Council on Audit Education
29 Prince Arthur
Toronto
Ontario, Canada M5R 1B2

Project members compile resources, conduct research, and assist efforts related to participatory research. The project took shape over the past two years and has produced some thoughtful papers.

ROMCOE (Rocky Mountain Center on the Environment)
1115 Grant Street
Denver, Colorado, 80203

ROMCOE specializes in mediating environment-related controversies between groups or organizations and in enabling communities to respond to potential environmental problems. Reports of projects based on community control, such as "Future Power," are especially valuable resources.

World Education
1414 Sixth Avenue
New York, New York, 10019

World Education works in the Third World and U.S. with private, governmental, and UN agencies; it helps plan, implement, support, and evaluate innovative nonformal education programs. The organization publishes a monthly journal, in addition to many topical documents and practical "tools," such as training guides.

Education for Justice

Commission on the Churches Participation in Development (CCPD)
World Council of Churches
P. O. Box 66
150 route de Ferney
1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland

The Commission supports efforts for economic and social justice through: research studies; assistance to Third World projects; development education programs in Europe and Canada; and a range of other activities. The "CCPD Network Newsletter" is an excellent source of information and contacts.

APPENDIX B

SOURCES FOR STRUCTURED LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND EXERCISES

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SOURCES FOR STRUCTURED LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND EXERCISES

The following list includes sources which the author has found helpful for designing training activities and developing learning materials. Almost all are available in paperback at a reasonable cost.

Allen, Dwight and Ryan, Kevin. Microteaching. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1969.

The microteaching approach enables trainees to learn specific skills through a "practice-feedback-practice" sequence. The approach can help facilitators gain important skills, such as questioning. In rural settings, a group "fishbowl," rather than videotape, may be utilized for feedback.

Alschuler, Alfred S.; Tabor, Diane; and McIntyre, James. Teaching Achievement Motivation--Theory and Practice in Psychological Education. Middletown, Connecticut: Education Ventures, Inc., 1971.

Though achievement motivation may be a western concept, the book discusses factors which affect motivation and presents useful suggestions for exercises on setting goals and planning how to meet them.

Cain, Bonnie and Comings, John. The Participatory Process: Producing Photo-Literature. Amherst, Massachusetts: Center for International Education, 1977.

This booklet describes a step-by-step process for involving learners in developing, producing, and evaluating various types of photo-literature, including fotonovellas. A handy resource.

Center for International Education. Ecuador Project Technical Notes. Amherst, Massachusetts: Center for International Education, 1972-75.

The notes are a series of thirteen booklets, each presenting a highly participatory learning material or method. While the emphasis is "how to," some issues related to effective application are also addressed.

Curwin, Richard L. and Fuhrmann, Barbara Schneider. Discovering Your Teaching Self. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975.

The book includes a wealth of simple but provocative exercises which enable "teachers" to examine their own and alternative teaching styles, perceptions, and values. Exercises have a formal school orientation, but can easily be reoriented to non-formal education and facilitator training.

deBono, Edward. Lateral Thinking--Creativity Step By Step. New York: Harper Row Publishers, 1970.
Some of deBono's techniques are hard to understand, but many are effective stimuli for "putting information together in new ways to create new ideas" (p. 38). Creative thinking is important to nonformal education programs which emphasize problem-solving, because it enables facilitators and learners to explore possibilities.

Gilchrist, Robert S. and Roberts, Bernice R. Curriculum Development--A Humanized Systems Approach. Belmont, California: Lear Siegler, Inc./Fearon Publishers, 1974.
This book presents a "dialogical process" through which planners, "teachers," and learners all have an input to curriculum development. While the approach is discussed in relation to formal school activities, many ideas are applicable to nonformal education as well.

Johnson, David W. Reaching Out--Interpersonal Effectiveness and Self-Actualization. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972.
The book is a compendium of exercises, some of which may not be appropriate for use in Third World countries. However, many exercises are useful, such as those in the areas of: "increasing your communication skills;" "helpful styles of listening and responding," and "solving interpersonal problems."

Ingalls, John D. A Trainer's Guide to Andragogy. Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972 (Stock No. 017-061-00033-0).
In this guide, the author explains Malcolm Knowles' concept of adult learning ("andragogy") and how it can be applied in a variety of settings. An excellent primer and practical manual for "how to" promote adult learning.

Kindervatter, Suzanne. Learner-Centered Training for Learner-Centered Programs. Amherst, Massachusetts: Center for International Education, 1976.
This booklet describes a training workshop, held for Thai adult educators, to promote a more learner-centered orientation in program development. The workshop's components and dynamics are described in detail, and the characteristics of both learner-centered training and programs are identified. A clear and concise reference (even for the person who wrote it).

Miles, Matthew B. Learning to Work in Groups. New York: Teacher's College Press, 1973.
Many books have been written on group dynamics. Miles' is one of the easiest to read and most applicable to real situations. The book succinctly explains the nature of small groups and effective small group behavior; then it focuses on how to design/implement/evaluate training programs for developing effective

group skills. Ideas for training activities are included. An invaluable resource for facilitator trainers.

Pfeiffer, J. William and Jones, John E. A Handbook of Structured Experiences for Human Relations Training (four volumes). La Jolla, California: University Associates, 7596 Eads Ave., 1974.
The set is the most comprehensive collection of human relations exercises available, but most activities require modification for use with rural Third World groups. A useful reference for experienced trainers.

Prutzman, Priscilla; Burger, M. Leonard; Badenhomer, Gretchen; and Woordman, Susan. A Preliminary Handbook--Children's Creative Response to Conflict Program. New York: Quaker Project on Community Conflict, 133 West 14th St., New York, 10011, 1975.
While the booklet's exercises were designed for children, many would be useful for adult nonformal education. The exercises use a variety of intriguing and entertaining methods and materials, and focus on: introductions and loosening up; community and cooperation building; communication; conflict resolution; and problem-solving.

Postman, Neil and Weingartner, Carl. Teaching as a Subversive Activity. New York: Delacorte Press, 1969.
This book deals with how educational processes can promote critical thinking. It focuses on formal education, but has many ideas which are also relevant to nonformal education.

Simon, Sidney B.; Howe, Leland W.; and Kirschenbaum, Howard. Values Clarification--A Handbook of Practical Strategies for Teachers and Students. New York: Hart Publishing Co., Inc., 1972.
"Values clarification" refers to a process by which people gain more understanding of their values, how the values developed, and the effect of their values on their lives. The book includes over seventy "strategies" or simple exercises to catalyze the process. Such activities are useful for nonformal education because they: validate the learners' worth and importance; help learners understand each other (important for team effort); and enable learners to recognize how values affect problem-solving.

Vinton, Iris. The Folkways Omnibus of Children's Games. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stockpole Books/Hawthorn Books, Inc., Cameron and Kelber Sts., 1970.
The book is a delightful collection of children's games from all over the world. It provides rich raw material for those interested in creating learning games for adults. And some of the games are just plain fun for anyone to play.

World Education. Aim: A Creative Approach to Teaching Adults, 1977; Program Fold-Outs. New York: World Education, Inc., 1414 Sixth Ave., New York, 10019.

"Aim" documents a method for participatory materials and curriculum development, which was used with adult learners in the U.S. The "fold-outs" present a variety of learning materials/methods utilized in Third World nonformal education programs. Both are important sources of ideas and guidance.